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University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
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THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1975

Urbana, Illinois

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To my parents

Frank and Vera Merriman

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AB	Art Bulletin
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AA Mus Istanbul	Annual of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul
Amelung, Sculpturen	Walther Amelung, Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums, 3 vols. Berlin, 1903-1956.
Armellini, Le chiese di Roma	Mariano Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, 2 vols. Roma, 1942.
BC	Bullettino della Commissione Archaeologica Communale di Roma
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
Banck, Byzantine Art in U.S.S.R.	Alisa V. Banck, Byzantine Art in the Collections of the U.S.S.R. Leningrad, 1966.
Beckwith, Chx Byz Art	John Beckwith, Early Christian and Byzantine Art, Harmondswirth, 1970.
Blake, Mosaics of the Late Empire	Marion Elizabeth Blake, "Mosaics of the Late Empire in Rome and vicinity." Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome 17 (1940) pp. 81-130.
Blake, Mosaics of the Second Century	Marion Elizabeth Blake, "Roman Mosaics of the Second Century in Italy." Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome 13 (1936) pp. 67-206.
Byvanck, "Rome en Copel"	A. W. Byvanck, "Rome en Constantinopel in de vierde eeuw." Mededelingen Van Het Nederlands Historisch Instituut Te Rome 31 (1961) pp. 73-114.

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CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, ed. T. Mommsen et al., Berlin, 1869- .
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CR	Classical Review
Cecchelli, La vita di Roma	Carlo Cecchelli, La vita di Roma nel Medio Evo, vol. 1, pts. 1-2: Le arti minori e il costume. Roma, 1951-1952.
Chastagnol, Préfecture	André Chastagnol, La Préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines d'Alger 34). Paris, 1960.
Chastagnol, Les Fastes	André Chastagnol, Les Fastes de la Préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire, Paris, 1962.
Corsi	Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, ed. Dom F. Cabrol and Dom H. Leclercq. 15 vols. Paris, 1907-1953.
DE	Dizionario epigrafico antichità romane, ed. E. De Ruggiero et al., Roma, 1886- .
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DS	Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments, ed. C. Daremberg, E. Saglio, et alii. 5 vols. Paris, 1877-1919.
Dalton, Byzantine Art	O. M. Dalton, Byzantine Art and Archaeology, New York, 1961.

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Delbrueck, Consular-diptychen	Richard Delbrueck, Die Consular-diptychen und verwandte Denkmäler (Studien zur Spätantike Kunstgeschichte vol. 2). Berlin, 1929.
De Loos-Dietz, Ivoren	E. P. De Loos-Dietz, Vroeg-Christelijke Ivoren, Studie over de Stijlontwikkeling op den Overgang van de Vierde naar de vijfde Eeuw, Assen, 1947.
Enc. dell'arte	Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale, 7 vols. Roma, 1958-1966.
Ferrua, Epigrammata	A. Ferrua, Epigrammata Damasiana. Città del Vaticano, 1942.
Gnecchi, Medaglioni	Francesco Gnecchi, I Medaglioni romani, 3 vols. Reprint of 1912 edition. Bologna, 1968.
Grabar, Kunst	André Grabar, Die Kunst in Zeitalter Justinians vom Tod Theodosius' I bis zum Vordringen des Islams. München, 1967.

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Helbig, Führer	Wolfgang Helbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassicher Altertümer in Rom. 4 vols. 4th edition. revised by H. Speier, Tübingen, 1963-1973.
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies.
Janin, Constantinople byzantine	R. Janin, Constantinople byzantine, développement urbain et répertoire topographique (Archives de l'Orient chrétien vol. 4). Paris, 1950.

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Lugli, Monumenti	G. Lugli, I monumenti antichi di Roma e suburbio. 3 vols. and supplement. Roma, 1931-1940.
MAAR	Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.
MDAI(A)	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Athenische Abteilung)
MDAI(I)	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Istanbuler Abteilung)
MDAI(R)	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung)
MNIR	Mededelingen van Het Nederlands Historisch Instituut Te Rome

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MemLinc	Memorie della Classe di Scienze morali e storiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei. Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.
Mem Pont Acc	Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia.
Mau, Katalog	August Mau, Katalog der Bibliothek des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Rom. 2 vols. and Supplement 1. Berlin, 1913-1930.
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Morey, Catalogo	C. R. Morey, editor, Catalogo del Museo sacro della Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana. vol. I: Gli oggeti di avorio e di osso. Città del Vaticano.
NS	Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità
Nash, Dictionary	Ernest Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome. 2 vols. Rev. edition. New York, 1968.
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome.
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus... Series Graeca, ed. J. P. Migne.
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus... Series Latina, ed. J. P. Migne.
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Platner, Dictionary	Samuel Ball Platner, and Thomas Ashby, A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome. London, 1929.
RAC	Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana. Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra.
R-E	Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. ed. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, et al. Stuttgart, 1894- .
RIASA	Rivista dell'Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte.
Rend Linc	Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei. Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.
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INTRODUCTION

This thesis attempts to analyze the sponsorship of the decorative arts in Rome and in Constantinople by the emperors and the nobles in the period from Constantine to Theodosius. The rationale for the topical, geographical, and chronological limitations imposed upon this investigation requires a brief explanation. This study of patronage began as an examination of all the art forms that enjoyed popularity in the late empire; the decision to restrict the essay to the visual arts rests upon the conviction that these represented, to the people themselves, the most significant artistic creations of the fourth century. (Subsequent studies will hopefully set forth the results of research on the other forms of art.) Ideally the investigation of the decorative arts should be coupled with a full discussion of the architectural developments of the era. Unfortunately almost nothing has survived of the fourth century Constantinopolitan buildings, and little remains standing in Rome apart from the Christian basilicas and a few public structures. By limiting the study to Rome and Constantinople the investigation could adequately explore the social, political, and religious factors influencing the activities of aristocratic and imperial patronage in the late empire. The reasons for terminating the investigation with the death of Theodosius stemmed primarily from the fact that after 395 the East and West no longer functioned as a political

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unit. In addition, the prosopographical research beyond A.D. 395 proved a serious stumbling block inasmuch as the second volume of Jones' monumental work has not yet been published.

The approach to the arts has been an historical one, that is to say that the decorative arts have been examined from the point of view of patronage. As a result, the investigation has attempted to reconstruct the historical setting in Rome and Constantinople that produced these arts. Great attention therefore has been devoted to the inscriptional evidence and to those works of art that illuminate the motivations of patronage. Every effort has been made to utilize for discussion only those works of art that can be firmly dated and assigned to Rome or Constantinople. In general the dating of the decorative pieces has been based on the inscriptional evidence. This has provided a sure guide for most pieces. However at times, more frequently at Constantinople than at Rome, the essay has been forced to take up works of art that cannot be so firmly placed. In that instance the dating has been based on stylistic analysis and those artistic products that validly seemed to belong to the era 337 to 395 have been included. In a few instances the discussion resorted to using works attributed to the turn of the century or to the early fifth century. The justification for this procedure stemmed from the realization that stylistic analysis cannot pin-point exactly the chronology of these art

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works, so that there still existed the strong possibility that they had been produced before A.D. 395. Moreover, even if they had been created around A.D. 400 or slightly later, they still originated from a period so close in time that in all probability they would bear a very strong resemblance to products of the fourth century itself.

The paucity of artistic evidence for Constantinople required additional adjustments: some fourth century products definitely originating from outside the capital have been included, as well as a few creations definitely produced in the fifth century. These consist, for example, of the church mosaics from Thessalonika, the Juliana Anicia illuminated manuscript, and the mosaics from the Great Palace. Despite their confirmed origin outside the limits of this thesis they nonetheless received attention in the essay because they bear sufficient proximity in time or location to validly assist in the re-construction of the historical setting for fourth century Constantinopolitan patronage.

By employing a broad point of view in the examination of patronage and by assembling an array of various types of sources, this study of the decorative arts has yielded a number of important generalizations regarding fourth century society in Old and New Rome. First the thesis demonstrates that a cultural unity existed in the midst of religious diversity. The pagan and Christian communities in both Rome and Constantinople joined together in a common cause of

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creating a cultural setting that transcended religious loyalties. The interaction of the pagan and Christian nobles revealed itself through a mutual commitment to the aristocratic code of life and thus a commitment to the preservation and embellishment of their family mansions. The essay substantiates that the wealthy members of both religious parties shared the same ideals and maintained essentially the same style of life, apart from those facets of their lives that touched directly upon religious matters. The examination of the decorative arts also exhibits the cultural unity of the pagan and Christian societies in the area of the civic commissions, for here the Christian emperors worked together with the Roman and Constantinopolitan aristocracy in promoting classical culture. At Rome the emperor Constantius sought to identify the new Christian rule with the preservation of Greco-Roman civilization, while at Constantinople the Christian emperors eagerly re-produced the traditional patterns of ancient life and bedecked the city with classical art. This mutual dedication to culture on the part of both religious communities largely explains the impressive efflorescence of the decorative arts in Old and New Rome during the course of the fourth century.

As a second major point, this study shows that the patrons in Old and New Rome engaged in a cultural rivalry which they carried on primarily through the decorative arts, the most visible signs of culture. For the old senatorial

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families of Rome the transference of the capital to Constantinople evoked an intensification of civic pride and a determination to preserve the city's cultural hegemony despite the humiliation of seeing New Rome emerge as the official capital. In this spirit the Roman aristocrats, as the wealthiest families in the empire, engaged in a show of wealth that sought to re-enforce their social position through lavish expenditures on the decorative arts. For the emperors and the patricians at Constantinople, on the other hand, the patronage of the decorative arts represented the surest means of transforming the new modest community into a true center of Greco-Roman civilization. This competition between Rome and Constantinople added a new dimension to patronage that greatly accelerated the artistic output of both cities and intensified the classicizing tastes of the day. Although Rome remained the seat of wealth and aristocratic society throughout the century, the challenge of New Rome constituted a very real issue in the lives of the late imperial nobles at Rome. The foundation of Constantinople stripped the old senatorial families of their sense of identity; this resulted in their adoption of patronage as their true role in the new Christian state. By flaunting their cultural interests and by concentrating on Rome's classical heritage the patricians of the Old capital succeeded in preserving their traditional social privileges. This program at Rome of emphasizing traditional values and classical culture forced the

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Constantinopolitans to launch their own campaign dedicated to creating a respectable civic image for their new modest community.

As a third point this essay establishes that the Christian emperors consciously appealed to the deepest aspirations of both cities through their activities as patrons of the decorative arts, thereby attempting to win over the loyalty of the pagan and Christian aristocrats in both communities. At Rome the Christian rulers launched a program of patronage designed to gain the support of the nobles by publicly glorifying Rome's cultural achievements and by assuring the old capital of a special place of honor in the new Christian state. At Constantinople on the other hand the Christian emperors endeavored to transform the city into a unique center of Christian culture and Greco-Roman civilization which would thus create a culturally tolerant environment acceptable to both religious parties. In part the Christian emperors were motivated by political considerations; yet their sincere respect for classical civilization prompted them to engage in far more projects than a simple political strategy would have required.

By way of conclusion a brief comment must be made on the overall importance of using the decorative arts as historical documents for the late empire. This study of patronage has been based on a rich diversity of source material; the following chapters however will reveal that on

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the whole the decorative arts have proved far more informative than the literary documents. In this sense it can be firmly maintained that the works of art from antiquity provide the historian with fresh material for further studies of ancient society. Moreover, the decorative arts constitute crucial evidence for the vitality of fourth century society inasmuch as they provide examples of late imperial experimentation with new ideas and forms.

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CHAPTER I

ARISTOCRATIC PATRONAGE IN ROME

Furnished with the most massive family inheritances in antiquity, and yet stripped of political power, the nobles of late imperial Rome fully espoused as their special role in society the preservation of the community's cultural heritage. By embracing patronage as the very essence of the aristocratic code of life the wealthiest families in the empire could continue to maintain a unique position in a world where Rome had ceased to be the political center of the empire and where social mobility threatened their hallowed privileges. Among the pagan and Christian nobles alike this elitism awakened an enthusiasm for the arts as a whole, and provided the senatorial families a new sense of direction and meaning.[1] In the visual arts, the unity of purpose among the patricians of Rome manifested itself most fully in their concentration upon the embellishment of their family mansions. Throughout the long history of these homes, Roman wealth and taste had insisted upon an exaggerated style which emphasized spaciousness and a heavy ornamentation.[2] In the fourth century, the architecture and decor of these aristocratic residences attained their most flamboyant form ever. The style of the day demanded the utilization of a succession of vast halls and chambers accented by a multiplicity of decoration.[3] This overloaded style of ornamentation prompted the early fifth century writer

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Olympiodorus to remark that each of the great houses at Rome constituted a city unto itself.[4]

A characteristic feature of the fresco decoration in these late antique palaces consisted in the implementation of a rich diversity of styles.[5] In the older quarters of the villas the fourth century owners preserved as much of the earlier fresco work as possible, and since these rooms were the product of many patrons, the frescoed walls and ceilings in these chambers displayed an odd assortment of traditional painting. On the other hand, in the recently constructed reception rooms and great halls the aristocrats introduced new modes of ornamentation which favored an experimentation with colors and designs. Many of these new halls they adorned with monumental mural scenes and grandiose ceiling frescoes commensurate with the imposing dimensions of the chambers. They decorated many other new rooms with an unparalleled multiplicity of carpet-style patterns, heavy arabesques, massive architectural trompe-l'oeil frescoes, and imitation marble inlays. An outstanding example of monumental painting from late antiquity can still be seen in the triclinium of the house of John and Paul.[6] The artists have enveloped this entire hall with a two-zone arrangement, with the lower band reserved for white marble incrustation and the rest of the wall devoted to the life-size genii frieze. They have selected for the tunnel-vault ceiling a harvest scene of eroti gathering grapes which contrasts well with the static poses of

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the genii. The mural scene is reduced to a few essential points. The ten life-size genii, with four on each side wall and two at either end, stand frontally against a heavy garland that extends across each of the walls. The genii daintily clutch the edges of their chlamys with both hands, while peacocks swagger between the figures, and other exotic birds hover over the garland.

In the tablinum of this same house one can examine another fourth century fresco decoration.[7] Here the artists have ornamented the entire surface of the walls with three horizontal bands. The lower zone and also the most colorful frieze has been expanded to cover more than one-half of the surface of each wall. It has been painted with bright colors to resemble fine marble inlays. A lush green acanthus design constitutes the narrow middle zone. The upper band consists of a series of frames each with a single decoration: masks, flowers, and several orant figures. The artist of this frieze also received the commission for the tunnel-vault ceiling which he adorned with arabesques and a symmetrical arrangement of various shaped frames for additional Christian figures and flowers. The plain white backgrounds in the frames accented the vivid colors of the individual designs and borders, and also helped to emphasize the height of the room. The classical quality of the acanthus frieze and the framed-flowers and masks have caused some scholars to argue that the paintings in the tablinum are a patch-work of various

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periods. However, the examination of the underlying stucco work has demonstrated that all the frescoes are contemporary with the Christian figures and thus a product of the fourth or early fifth century.[8] The multiplicity of designs and the widely divergent portrait murals in late antique homes required the specialized talents of many painters. Thus in contrast with the classicizing character of the genii frescoes, the mural of the martyrs in the oratory of this same house recalls the flat figures implemented in catacomb-decoration.[9] The three martyrs are portrayed kneeling in front of the executioners with blindfolds and their hands tied behind them.

Some of the frescoers engaged for the great houses of Rome stand out as truly extraordinary artists. The decorator of the triclinium unearthed in 1780 in the gardens of Ss. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum created some of the finest genre scenes of the period.[10] This masterful artist devised a series of large individual mural panels with each one representing a servant bringing forth the provisions for the banquet table. The faces are executed in a strongly realistic fashion. The attendants' garments firmly date the paintings to the fourth century. The artist of the Roma fresco found in another late imperial mansion has also demonstrated rare ability.[11] The mural, dated to the fourth or fifth century, presents a favorite subject of late imperial art, the personification of the city as a helmeted protectress with her retinue.

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Like the fresco decoration, the mosaics in these late imperial residences exhibited a bizarre melange of old and new ornamentation.[12] The eclectic tastes of the day permitted the production of classicizing floor mosaics as well as bold experimentation with colors and techniques, particularly regarding wall designs. One of the finest floor mosaics from the period came to light in 1903 in a residence on the Esquiline.[13] This large rectangular polychrome mosaic presents four separate hunting scenes linked together by trees and other landscape elements. The long-sleeved tunics with small roundels sewn near the hem of vestments firmly date this work of art to the fourth century. In the scene of the bear hunt, two men attempt to drive the bears towards a small cage on the top of which a third man is shown holding up the cage door. The two dogs assisting the hunters force the bears against a net which serves to lead the wild beasts in the direction of the cage.[14] Despite the artist's weaknesses in handling perspectives in each of the four scenes, he has nonetheless endeavored to create a realistic landscape through the depiction of various shaped trees, rocks, small bushes, and hidden snares.

The extensive collections of ancient sculptures which already filled these mansions tended to confine the acquisition of new sculptures to commemorative works, and architectural pieces required in the newly constructed halls.[15] These collections of Greek and Roman masterpieces, assiduously built

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up since the days of the Republic, had developed into the most impressive assemblages in private hands anywhere in the Mediterranean world. The ornate pilaster with two panthers now housed in the Sala degli animali at the Vatican provides a guide to the low-relief work from this era.[16] The pilaster portrays a very large acanthus plant springing from a small jardiniere which is supported by the two panthers. Within the foliage the sculptor has placed two small roundels with portrait busts of children. Exotic birds rest in the uppermost spiral of the plant.

Amid families so preoccupied with aristocratic privileges and cultural leadership, commemorative statuary naturally carried uncommon weight. The dedications for these works of art clearly indicate that the patricians not only continued the traditional practice of honoring members of their families for political accomplishments, but they also found memorial statuary a convenient opportunity for displaying religious loyalties and intellectual achievements. From the pagan circles there is still preserved the large marble base with a statue dedication to Vettius Agorius Praetextatus erected by his son in the family mansion on the Aventine.[17] In this instance, the dedication focuses exclusively upon political feats. However in the house of the Symmachi, Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus erected statues to his father and to Virius Nicomachus Flavianus with explicit dedicatory references to their erudition and their status as pagan priests.[18]

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Certainly the most glaring example of religious advocacy among pagans involved Fabia Paulina's dedication of a statue in her own palace to the vestal virgin Coelia Concordia.[19] In the sixteenth century archaeologists recovered this extraordinary statue in perfect condition with the jewels and ornaments intact. Unfortunately it has been lost. The inscription indicates that Fabia Paulina commissioned the work in gratitude for the vestal virgin's dedication of a statue to Praetextatus in the house of the Vestals. Fabia Paulina, together with her husband Praetextatus, had served in the vanguard of the pagan opposition at the end of the century, and thus it was only fitting that a memorial celebrating her own priesthoods should be erected in the family mansion.[20]

On the Christian side, the traditional emphasis on political achievements can be seen in the case of Sex. Claudius Petronius Probus. A statue in his honor was erected by his son Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius in the Horti Aniciorum et Pinciorum in the 395.[21] As a counterpart to the pagan sculptures which enumerated membership in pagan priesthoods, the Christians stressed religious sincerity and excellence by calling attention to personal virtues. Thus the statue erected for Anicia Faltonia Proba by her son Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius in the family mansion bore the dedication "Aniciae Faltoniae inlustrissimae et sanctissimae castissimae feminae...."[22]

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The demand for extravagantly decorated palaces produced a surprising renaissance of the minor arts and for the first time in antiquity the silversmiths, glassblowers, gem-cutters, ivory workers and tapestry makers received an equal footing with architects, sculptors and painters. In keeping with their grand train de maison, the patricians avoided the use of bronze, lead, and wood for their household articles and emphasized instead the use of silver, gold, ivory, sardonyx, agate, rock crystal, and rare marbles. The high quality of late Roman metalware is firmly established by the Esquiline treasure which was discovered in a burial site on the Esquiline hill in the eighteenth century.[23] The treasure includes table ware, show plate, toiletries, furniture ornaments, as well as costume pieces, and elaborate horse-trappings. The inscriptions indicate that the treasure had belonged to the late fourth century Christian couple Turcius Secundus and his wife Projecta.[24] The incomplete ministerium includes both undecorated pieces and some elaborately ornate creations.[25] One very fine flask, worked in repoussé relief, bears an intricate design of twenty-four spirals interspersed with birds, goats, and other animals. The large central roundels contain genii engaged in harvest scenes.[26] Most of the dishes exhibit ornate central monograms. Four rectangular dishes, with identical pierced borders, display complicated monograms employing thirteen letters which spell out "Proiecta Turci."[27] The gilt and niello monograms are set within gilt and niello wreaths.

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The silver work produced for this Christian couple only rarely betrays religious elements. Their wedding casket, which weighs almost twenty-five pounds, bears the dedication "Secunde et Proiecta vivatis in Christo," yet no definite Christian symbolism appears in the repoussé panels of this box.[28] The portraits of the couple ornament the lid of the chest: Secundus with chlamys and fibula, and his wife with a mantle and a broad necklace of jewels. Three of the panels are embossed with mythological scenes; the five other panels present the bride with her attendants. These latter scenes provide a rare glimpse of contemporary furniture, drapery, and sculptured columns. The silversmith who produced this wedding gift probably also created Projecta's cosmetic case, for one of the panels of the wedding casket depict the bride holding just such a dome covered toiletry case.[29] The sixteen-sided case is designed to hold five small cosmetic boxes. The silversmith has embossed the eight concave sides with eight figures of the Muses, and the crown of the dome with a large medallion of a woman stringing a garland. The classicizing character of these fourth century luxury items manifests itself most fully in Projecta's Venus patera now located in the Palais des Beaux-Arts.[30] The artist of this show plate piece has cleverly converted its concave surface into a sea shell within which he portrays the goddess theatrically tidying her coiffure. A standing figure of Adonis ornaments the handle, while a series of small sea shells embellishes the rim of the saucer.

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The use of silver for furniture pieces, beds, baths, candelabra, and mirrors had been widely practiced in patrician mansions since the first century A.D.; in late antiquity the vogue increased markedly. Moreover, gilding was very commonly introduced. The two small silver candle sticks with portrait medallions unearthened in the Domus Valeriorum demonstrate the originality found on these everyday objects.[31] Certainly among the most unusual furniture decorations of the day are the four silver chair ornaments from the Esquiline treasure.[32] Each one consists of a seated female figure resting on a rectangular block which can be attached to the arm piece of the chair. The costumes of the four figures identify them as the personifications of the cities of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria. Each one weighs almost two pounds and is overlaid with gold. The seated figure of Roma holds the symbols of imperial power, a spear and a shield, while Constantinopolis holds a cornucopia and a patera. Antiochia rests her feet on a figure representing the Orontes, and Alexandria rests her left foot on the prow of a ship.

The household ivory sculptures which have survived from this era range from mediocre utensil ornaments and wall plaques to remarkable luxury articles.[33] Unlike metalware, the privately commissioned ivory seldom exhibits dedications or monograms, so that many of these sculptures cannot be firmly dated. Fortunately, however, a diptych inscribed with the names of the Nicomachi and the Symmachi, two eminent pagan

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families, can be safely assigned to the late fourth or early fifth century.[34] Using this diptych as a stable guide for stylistic analysis, art historians have attributed three other ivories to the late fourth or early fifth century: the Asclepius-Hygieia diptych, and two resurrection sculptures. The exact purpose of the large diptych of the Nicomachi and the Symmachi remains unclear. Some have suggested the ivory served as a wedding announcement between members of these families; others have conjectured it served as a announcement of a joint religious undertaking; and still others believe it celebrates the initiation of certain family members into the pagan priesthoods. Both panels involve religious scenes. The right side presents a young priestess of Cybele and the left side a young priestess of Bacchus. The unencumbered spacing of the figures, the preoccupation with the drapery folds, and the idealistic rendering of the face of Cybele's priestess place this work of art among the finest creations of the late empire. The Asclepius and Hygieia diptych, which probably bore some association with the pagan festivals, reveals certain similarities with the above ivory: the borders designs, the spacing of the figures, and the style of the dedication frames which in this instance have not been inscribed.[35] The left panel presents the god standing frontally between two columns that are linked by a heavy garland; the right panel shows his daughter in an almost identical setting. The craftmanship, although admirable, falls

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far short of the diptych of the Nicomachi and the Symmachi. The handling of the drapery, in particular, brings to light the inferior quality.

The two Christian ivories, on the other hand, consist of single panels from two distinct diptychs, the Milan resurrection panel and the Munich resurrection ivory. In contrast with the pagan diptychs, both of the Christian sculptures introduce a multiplicity of detail. The Milan sculpture depicts two women greeting their risen Saviour outside of the burial tomb.[36] The artist has awkwardly allowed the tomb itself to dominate the entire scene, so that in order for him to include the two sleeping guards the artist resorts to placing them on the roof of the building. The Munich panel also demonstrates a lack of restraint. In the foreground of the panel the artist presents three women greeting Christ outside the tomb, while in the background he includes a scene of the ascension.[37]

In the realm of glassware the tastes of the day favored a multiplicity of techniques and an experimentation with vessel designs, shapes, and colors.[38] Gilded glassware in the form of bowls, cups, plates, and individual medallions has survived in very great quantity in the Roman catacombs. Most of these display scenes from the Old or New Testament. Some of the inscriptions indicate that the vessels served as gifts for weddings and birthdays in which case it was customary to include portraits representing the recipients.[39] Although most of the

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catacomb specimens betray mass production techniques, the standards nonetheless remained high. Apart from the religious oriented glassware from the catacombs separate mention may also be made of the gilded plate with three portrait busts which came to light in the Forum Romanum.[40] The fibula worn by the central figure dates the plate to the late empire. Traditionally this central figure has been identified with Junius Bassus the consul in 331.

The most favored medium for experimentation involved engraved glassware. A distinctive feature of these works of art consisted of the blending of new techniques with the classical motifs. Thus the blue-violet Dionysiac situla now in the Treasury of Saint Mark's introduces an unprecedented style of deep engraving which overloads the entire surface with a scene drawn from Dionysiac celebrations.[41] The most flamboyant development however involved the "cage-cups," which employed an undercutting technique applied to the outer blanket of the vessel so that only small bridges remained as attachments between the two walls of glass.[42] Two of these may have been produced in Rome. The Lycurgus cup in the British Museum has been carved with an olive green outer glass wall and a yellowish inner wall. The artist has formed the outer blanket into branches which cover the figure of Lycurgus.[43] The hunting situla in the Treasury of Saint Mark's cleverly employs a clear crystal glass inner wall which allows the relief work of the outer blanket to be easily

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appreciated. The top part of the outer blanket consists of mounted horsemen, while the lower portion involves a series of connected rings.[44]

Book collecting which had continued to excite the Roman mind since the Republic received added interest in late antiquity with the popularization of book illustrations. Until the development of the codex book-form in the late third century A.D. manuscript painting remained a rare phenomenon.[45] The invention of the codex coupled with the intense desire of the patricians at Rome for accurate texts of the classical authors gave birth to the first commonly produced manuscripts with miniature paintings. Although classical literature apparently predominated at first, the repertory of illustrated works produced in the fourth century soon came to include the Bible as well as almanacs and travel guides. The latter two provided a rich variety of material for illustration without the problems of narration.[46] Today the best preserved illustrated manuscript from late imperial Rome consists of the Vatican Vergil, which has been variously dated as either a fourth century creation or a product of the fifth century.[47] The codex, in its fragmentary state, contains seventy-six leaves with fifty illustrations. It has been estimated that this represents only about one-fifth of the original. Forty-one of the miniatures pertain to the first nine books of the Aeneid, while nine illustrations relate to the Georgics. Each of the miniatures are set within individual rectangular frames.

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The miniature for the death of Dido, provided for book four of the Aeneid, exhibits an impressionistic rendering of the figures which preserves the classical styles.[48] The illustrator delights in the use of strong colors; Dido's attendants wear dark yellow and dark blue vestments, while the walls of the room are painted in a light purple, and the furniture accessories in gold.

The miniatures which accompanied the Almanac of 354 are today known only from sixteenth and seventeenth century copies. The handbook was drawn up for the use of a certain Valentinus at Rome, and included ten separate tables each supplemented by illustrations.[49] The title page of this exceptional work of art engaged the talents of the calligrapher Furius Dionysius Philocalus. The dedication included a monogram with the name of Valentinus and the exhortations: "Valentine floreas in Deo; Valentine vivas gaudeas; Valentine lege feliciter."[50] The miniatures included the personifications of Roma, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, and illustrations of the months, the signs of the zodiac and the planets as well as two portraits of Constantius II and Gallus with their consular insignia.

The great houses of Rome experienced their last glorious era of aristocratic patronage in the fourth century, for the combined forces of the barbarian invasions and the growing ascetism among pagan and Christian circles brought about a gradual decline in the domestic arts during the following

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century. Although the aristocratic code of life never fully died out in Rome, the appeal of ascetism and the disruption of the economic life of the West produced a more simplified style of life. Nonetheless, it was only in the sixth century that the center of aristocratic life in the Mediterranean began to shift to Constantinople.[51] The efflorescence of the household arts in fourth century Rome, coming as it did between the cultural hiatus of the third century and the gradual decline of the fifth century constitutes a unique chapter in the history of the Roman aristocracy, for a principal element in the revival of the great houses lay in the renewed sense of confidence which the aristocratic ideal provided to both pagans and Christians alike.

A study of the nobles' involvement in the religious centers and their sponsorship of funerary art provides important evidence for privately commissioned works of art. As a result of the religious developments of the era, the aristocratic families assumed new roles in the maintenance of the pagan temples and the Christian churches. For the Christian nobles, the Edict of Milan marked the beginning of their financial support of the Church in public life; for the wealthy pagans, on the other hand, the rule of the Christian emperors meant the acceptance of all responsibility for the upkeep of their religious centers without the benefit of state subsidies. An examination of pagan activities establishes that until the closing of the temples in 391 the pagan adherents continued to

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dedicate altars and cult statues in addition to carrying out necessary restoration work on the buildings.[52] However, only one major temple is known to have been built in Rome after Constantine's death, the Temple of Juppiter Heliopolitanus. This sanctuary probably dates to the reign of Julian, 361-363, and undoubtedly involved aristocratic sponsorship.[53] The variety of cult statues unearthed at the site and the structure of the building itself indicate that the temple served a community of syncretistical pagans. Paganism in its last phase largely replaced the traditional Greco-Roman gods with the emotional mystery religions, which emphasized above all the pursuit of a moral life and the promise of reward after death. A study of the altars and cult statues dedicated in the fourth century temples confirms that the worship of Magna Mater and Mithras predominated.[54] Nonetheless, at least five dedications involved the ancestral gods: one for Diana, one for Liber, one for the Etruscan goddess Nortia, and two for Hercules.[55] Further evidence for the continued devotion to the traditional Roman gods comes from the Atrium Vestae where a statue base with a dedication to Claudia the Virgo Vestalis Maxima has been found. The commemoration records that the statue was erected June 9, 364 by the pontifices, and carried out by Macrinius Sossianus "pro-magister pontificium, pontifex maior."[56] Nearby was discovered the statue and base erected to Vettius Agorius Praetextatus by the vestal virgins as a commemoration for his religious and financial support. The dedication enumerates

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his membership in the ancient Roman priesthoods: "Agorii. Vettio Agorio Praetextato, v.c. pontifici Vestae, pontifici Solis, quindecemviro, auguri, tauroboliato, curiali, neocoro, hierofantae, patri sacrorum..."[57]

The pagan society at Rome had traditionally avoided any association between the temples and their funerary art with the result that each patrician family had maintained its own burial site and customs. During the first three centuries of the empire most wealthy pagans had preferred some type of sculptured sarcophagus. However, in the fourth century, for reasons not yet fully explained, the pagan community gradually turned away from the use of sarcophagi. Some favored instead the practice of cremation, although most seem to have preferred simple interment in the ancestral cemeteries with a grave stele to indicate the burial site. The stele erected for Vettius Agorius Praetextatus includes a dedication enumerating his pagan priesthoods and his political achievements. The gravestone also includes an inscription composed by Praetextatus for his wife and one by her addressed to her husband. These read:

a.

D M

VETTIVS AGORIVS PRAETEXTATVS
AVGVR · PONTIFEX VESTAE
PONTIFEX SOLIS QVINDECEMVIR
CVRIALIS HERCULIS SACRATVS
LIBERO ET ELEVSINIS HIEROPHANTA
NEOCORVS TAVROBOLIATVS
PATER PATRVM IN RE PVBLICA VERO
QVAESTOR CANDIDATVS

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PRETOR VRBANVS
CORRECTOR TVSCIAE ET VMBRIAE
CONSVLARIS LVSITANIAE
PROCONSVLE ACHAIAE
PRAEFECTVS VRBI
LEGATVS A SENATV MISSVS V
PRAEFECTVS PRAETORIO II ITALIAE
ET ILLYRICI · CONSVL ORDINARIVS
DESIGNATVS
ET ACONIA FABIA PAVLINA C F
SACRATA CERERI ET ELEVSINIIS
SACRATA APVD EGINAM HECATAE
TAVROBOLIATA · HIEROPHANTRIA
HI CONIVNCTI SIMVL VIXERVNT ANN XL

b. VETTIVS AGORIVS PRAETEXTATVS
PAVLINAE CONIVGI

PAVLINA VERI ET CASTITATIS CONSCIA
DICATA TEMPLIS ATQ · AMICA NVMINVM
SIBI MARITVM PRAEFERENS ROMAM VIRO
PVDENS FIDELIS PVRA MENTE ET CORPORE
BENIGNA CVNCTIS VTILIS PENATIBVS
. . . . . .

c. VETTIVS AGORIVS PRAETEXTATVS
PAVLINAE CONIVGI

PAVLINA NOSTRI PECTORIS CONSORTIO
FOMES PVDORIS CASTITATIS VINCVLVM
AMORQVE PVRVS ET FIDES CAELO SATA
ARCANA MENTIS CVI RECLVSA CREDIDI
MVNVS DEORVM QVI MARITALEM TORVM
NECTVNT AMICIS ET PVDICIS NEXIBVS
PIETATE MATRIS CONIVGALI GRATIA
NEXV SORORIS FILIAE MODESTIA
ET QVANTA AMICIS IVNGIMVR FIDVCIA
AETATIS VSV CONSECRANDI FOEDERE
IVGI FIDELI SIMPLICI CONCORDIA
IVVANS MARITVM DILIGENS ORNANS
COLENS

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d.

SPLENDOR PARENTVM NIL MIHI MAIVS DEDIT
QUAM QVOD MARITO DIGNA IAM TVM VISA SVM
SED LVMEN OMNE VEL DECVS NOMEN VIRI
AGORI SVPERBO QVI CREATVS GERMINE
PATRIAM SENATVM CONIVGEMQ · INLVMINAS
PROBITATE MENTIS MORIBVS STVDIIS SIMVL
VIRTVTIS APICEM QVIS SVPREMVM NANCTVS ES
TV NAMQVE QVIDQVID LINGVA VTRAQ EST PRODITVM
CVRA SOFORVM PORTA QVIS CAELI PATET
VEL QVAE PERITI CONDIDERE CARMINA
VEL QVAE SOLVTIS VOCIBVS SVNT EDITA
MELIORA REDDIS QVAM LEGENDO SVMPSERAS
SED ISTA PARVA TV PIVS MOVESTES SACRIS
TELETIS REPERTA MENTIS ARCANO PREMIS
DIVVMQVE NVMEN MVLTIPLEX DOCTVS COLIS
SOCIAM BENIGNE CONIVGEM NECTENS SACRIS
HOMINVM DEVMQVE CONSCIAM AC FIDAM TIBI
QVID NVNC HONORES AVT POTESTATES LOQVAR
HOMINVMQVE VOTIS ADPETITA GAVDIA
QVAE TV CADVCA AC PARVA SEMPER AVTVMANS
DIVVM SACERDOS INFVLIS CELSVS CLVES
TV ME MARITE DISCIPLINARVM BONO
PVRAM AC PVDICAM SORTE MORTIS EXIMENS
IN TEMPLA DVCIS AC FAMVLAM DIVIS DICAS
TE TESTE CVNCTIS IMBVOR MYSTERIIS
TV DINDYMENES ATTEOS QVI ANTISTITEM
TELETIS HONORAS TAVREIS CONSORS PIVS
HECATES MINISTRAM TRINA SECRETA EDOCES
CERERISQVE GRAIAE TV SACRIS DIGNAM PARAS
TE PROPTER OMNIS ME BEATAM ME PIAM
CELEBRANT QVOD IPSE ME BONAM DISSEMINAS
TOTVM PER ORBEM IGNOTA NOSCOR OMNIBVS
NAM TE MARITO CVR PLACERE NON QVEAM
EXEMPLVM DE ME ROMVLAE MATRES PETVNT
SVBOLEMQVE PVLCHRAM SI TVAE SIMILIS PVTANT
OPTANT PROBANTQVE NVNC VIRI NVNC FEMINAE
QVAE TV MAGISTER INDIDISTI INSIGNIA
HIS NVNC ADEMPTIS MAESTA CONIVNX MACEROR
FELIX MARITVM SI SVPERSTITEM MIHI
DIVI DEDISSENT SED TAMEN FELIX TVA
QVIA SVM FVIQVE POSTQVE MORTEM MOX ERO[58]

Special mention must also be made of the pagan sarcophagi from this era.[59] The four seasons sarcophagus now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection is generally attributed to fourth century Rome.[60] The front panel of this uncommonly large

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sarcophagus presents a central roundel with the portrait busts of a husband and wife flanked by four standing youths who symbolize the seasons of the year. The roundel, which is supported by the figures of Spring and Summer, bears a sculptured border with the signs of the zodiac. The sculpture lacks a dedication, but the style of the high relief work probably indicates a late composition.[61] Although the portrait bust of the couple has been left unfinished, the artistic quality of this sarcophagus is far superior to the other pagan tombs. The Adonis sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum presents a front panel with the departure of the god to the underworld.[62] The Meleager sarcophagus in the Palazzo dei Conservatori exhibits a single frieze panel with a crowded scene of the god slaying the wild boar. His six companions are shown brandishing their weapons. Meleager stands in the center of the panel in an almost three-quarters pose. He wears only a mantle draped over his shoulders.[63]

Regarding the activities of the Christians, the evidence seems to show that the wealthy families for reasons of personal fame directed their energies towards funerary art rather than the construction or embellishment of churches.[64] Out of nineteen churches which can be reasonably dated to the period 313-395, only three may possibly have involved aristocratic subsidies. It is of course possible that the patricians subsidized an ecclesiastical building program through contributions to a general fund administered by the bishop of the city,

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for at least seven of the nineteen churches were erected under papal direction.[65] The great emphasis of the Christians upon mausolea and sarcophagi stands in sharp contrast with the very limited activity of the pagans in the realm of funerary art. A unique aspect of Christian funerary art of the day involved the custom of locating the mausolea or the sarcophagi near the site of a marytr's tomb or near a church built over a martyrium.[66] Many of the mausolea constructed during late antiquity have been destroyed through the ages. Those most fully documented consist of the mausoleum of the Probi and the mausolea at the church of S. Sebastian.

The tomb of the Probi, built about 390 by Anicia Faltonia Proba on the death of her husband Sextus Petronius Probus, enjoyed remarkable honor, for this mausoleum crypt stood at the very apex of the apse of Old St. Peter's.[67] The drawings made of the tomb before its destruction in the Renaissance establish that the structure consisted of an apsed-hall with a nave and two side aisles. Since the front of the tomb shared the apse-wall of the church, two entrances on each side wall of the mausoleum provided passageway. Colonnades and architraves separated the nave from the aisles, while engaged columns and architraves decorated the walls. On these architraves Proba had inscribed the two epitaphs composed by her husband. They read:

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a.

SVBLIMES QVISQVIS TVMVLI MIRABERIS ARCES
DICES QVANTVS ERAT QVI PROBVS HIC SITVS EST
CONSVLIBVS PROAVIS SOCERISQVE ET CONSVLE MAIOR
QVOD GEMINAS CONSVL REDDIDIT IPSE DOMOS
PRAEFECTVS QVARTO TOTVM DILECTVS IN ORBEM
SED FAMA EMENSVS QVICQVID IN ORBE HOMINVM EST
AETERNOS HEV ROMA TIBI QVI POSCERET ANNOS
CVR NON VOTA TVI VIXIT ADVSQVE BONI
NAM CVM SEXDENOS MENSIS SVSPENDERET ANNOS
DILECTAE GREMIO RAPTVS IN AETHRA PROBAE
SED PERIISSE PROBVM MERITIS PRO TALIBVS ABSIT
CREDAS ROMA TVVM VIVIT ET ASTRA TENET
VIRTVTIS FIDEI PIETATIS HONORIS AMICVS
PARCVS OPVM NVLLI LARGVS ET IPSE SVI
SOLAMEN TANTI CONIVX TAMEN OPTIMA LVCTVS
HOC PROBA SORTITA EST IVNGAT VT VRNA PARES
FELIX HEV NIMIVM FELIX DVM VITA MANERET
DIGNO IVNCTA VIRO DIGNA SIMVL TVMVLO

b.

EXUUIIS RESOLVTVS IN AETHERIS AEQVORE TVTVM
CVRRIS ITER CVNCTIS INTEGER A VITIIS
NOMINE QVOD RESONAS IMITATVS MORIBVS AEQVE
IORDANE ABLVTVS NVNC PROBVS ES MELIOR
DIVES OPVM CLARVSQVE GENVS PRAECELSVS HONORE
FASCIBVS INLVSTRIS CONSVLE DIGNVS AVO
BIS GEMINA POPVLOS PRAEFECTVS SEDE GVBERNANS
HAS MVNDI PHALERAS HOS PROCERVM TITVLOS
TRANSCENDIS SENIOR DONATVS MVNERE CHRISTI
HIC EST VERVS HONOS HAEC TVA NOBILITAS
LAETABARE PRIVS MENSAE REGALIS HONORE
PRINCIPIS ALLOQVIO REGIS AMICITIA
NVNC PROPIOR CHRISTO SANCTORVM SEDE POTITVS
LVCE NOVA FRVERIS LVX TIBI CHRISTVS ADEST
O NVNQVAM DEFLENDE TVIS CVM VITA MANERET
CORPORIS ATQVE ARTVS SPIRITVS HOS REGERET
PRIMVS ERAS NVLLIQVE PATRVM VIRTVTE SECVNDVS
NVNC RENOVATVS HABES PERPETVAM REQVIEM
CANDIDA FVSCATVS NVLLA VELAMINA CVLPA
ET NOVVS INSVETIS INCOLA LIMINIBVS
HIS SOLARE TVOS QVANQVAM SOLACIA MAESTA
GRATIA NON QVAERAT GRATIA CHRISTE TVA
VIVIT IN AETERNA PARADISI SEDE BEATVS
QUI NOVA DECEDENS MVNERIS AETHERII
VESTIMENTA TVLIT QVO DEMIGRANTE BELIAL
CESSIT ET INGEMVIT HIC NIHIL ESSE SVVM
HVNC TV CHRISTE CHORIS IVNGAS CAELESTIBVS ORO
TE CANAT ET PLACIDVM IVGITER ASPICIAT
EQVE TVO SEMPER DILECTVS PENDEAT ORE
AVXILIVM SuBOLI CONIVGIOQVE FERENS [68]

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Their sarcophagus, which originally stood in the apse of the tomb, has been preserved in St. Peter's.[69] It constitutes one of the very few from this era to be decorated on all four sides. This columnar sarcophagus portrays on the front side a standing figure of Christ amid ten of the Apostles. The risen Saviour stands upon a small mount and holds in his right hand a full length jewelled cross, a symbol of his resurrection. The back side presents Anicia and her husband standing beneath a central arch holding one another's hands. Both ends of the sarcophagus represent six Apostles standing beneath elaborate arches. When the Renaissance archaeologists first opened the sarcophagus, the two bodies lay shrouded in golden treasuries.[70]

Within the actual basilica of Old St. Peter's, other leading families received their final resting place. Among the most privileged was Junius Bassus whose sarcophagus stood within the apse of the church behind the shrine of St. Peter.[71] His columnar sarcophagus, now in the Grotte Vaticane, can be firmly dated to 359 by means of the inscription: "Jun. Bassus v.c. qui vixit annis xlii men. II in ipsa praefectura urbi neofitus iit ad Deum. VIII kal. Sept. Eusebio et Ypatio Coss."[72] It utilizes a double register on each of the three decorated sides. The front panel presents ten distinct scenes from the Old and New Testaments, set within highly ornate arches. The figures have been carved in exceptionally high relief. The portrait of Junius Bassus himself appears nowhere on his tomb.

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Mention must also be made of the extraordinary city-gate sarcophagus discovered near this basilica which has been dated to the third quarter of the fourth century.[73] The front panel consists of seven scenes from the life of Christ each worked in high relief. The shafts of the eight columns have been ornamented with acanthus leaves. Both ends of the sarcophagus exhibit novel architectural settings for the New Testament scenes; the carefully delineated buildings furnish a tantalizing glimpse of contemporary structures.

The largest conglomerate of aristocratic mausolea developed at S. Sebastian's, for this basilica from its inception served as a funerary center for the wealthy.[74] Near the south eastern corner of the basilica, but isolated from the church itself, stood the rotunda of the Uranii. This mausoleum, which can be dated by inscriptional evidence to 349, seems to have been built as a direct imitation of the mausoleum of Constantina at S. Agnes fuori le Mura.[75] At the apse end of the basilica, Pope Damasus erected a very spacious mausoleum apparently designed for the outstanding supporters of the papacy.[76] Several inscriptions which Damasus had set up within the tomb and the basilica could still be seen in the Renaissance. One of these inscriptions, apparently executed by the calligrapher Furius Dionysius Philocalus, designated the basilica as the earlier burial site of Ss. Peter and Paul.[77] In another of the mausolea at S. Sebastian's, about twelve meters north of the church, archaeologists uncovered the fascinating

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curry-comb sarcophagus of Flavius Patricius which bore the seal imprint of the marble mason, "C. Porci Prisci."[78] The dedication inscribed on the cover dates the sarcophagus to 360. The front side contains a large central medallion with the portrait bust of Flavius Patricius placed between simple curry-comb panels with corner columns.

At S. Paolo fuori le mura numerous sarcophagi have come to light since the Renaissance, the most celebrated being the so-called sarcophagus of the Two Brothers.[79] Only the front side of this unusual tomb displays relief work. It presents two separate registers filled with Old and New Testament scenes which are not isolated from another through the use of columns or other devices. A large shell attached to the upper register contains the portrait busts of the two bearded brothers. The superior craftsmanship of these two portraits and the design of the shell itself might indicate that the roundel had been attached at the time of purchase to a ready-made sarcophagus.

Due to the personal enthusiasm of Pope Damasus, the martyria in the various catacombs received new interest in the last thirty-five years of the century. Damasus himself undertook a careful examination of the subterranean chambers, and concentrated his efforts upon making the martyria easily accessible to the Christian community.[80] He added new and more impressive entrances and hallways while at the same time introducing new light-shafts to accommodate the large crowds

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in their movements from one martyria to another. He refurbished the chapels by adding elegant marble incrustations, large-scale paintings, free standing sculptures, and liturgical vessels. Each one of the major sanctuaries was decorated with an epitaph personally composed by the bishop, and carved in marble by Furius Dionysius Philocalus.[81]

Although most Christians preferred to be buried at the site of the churches erected over the tombs of the martyrs, some chose the catacombs as being the proper ad sanctos form. It remains unclear whether the continuation of papal interment in the catacombs influenced this latter group of Christians.[82] Traditionally the bishops of Rome had been interred in the papal vault located in the Catacombs of St. Callixtus. The fourth century Popes, however, abandoned the papal vault in favor of other locations. Pope Mark was interred in the Catacombs of St. Balbina; Pope Julius in the Catacombs of St. Callistus or in the Catacombs of St. Calepodius; Pope Liberius in the Catacombs of St. Priscilla; Pope Damasus in an unknown catacomb on the via Ardeatina; and Pope Siricius in the Catacomb of St. Priscilla.[83] Of the multitude of sarcophagi discovered in the catacombs special mention must be made of the curious Good Shepherd sarcophagus from the Catacomb of Praetextatus.[84] The front panel consists of a single frieze with a central standing figure of the Good Shepherd holding a lamb on his shoulders. Similar figures decorate each corner. The background of the frieze employs a very complex scene of

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eroti harvesting grapes amid a tangled mass of vines. Both end panels exhibit double registers with vignettes of *eroti* at work.

The wall paintings embellishing the grave sites of those who preferred simple interment in the catacombs seldom attain the magnificence of the sarcophagi. These paintings include symbolical representations, scenes from the Old and New Testaments, allegorical figures, and scenes from everyday life.[85] The allegorical representations borrowed heavily from pagan art. Thus the mythical singer Orpheus appears in a Christian context as the equivalent of the Good Shepherd. These funerary frescoes very frequently included a portrait of the deceased as an *orant*. In the catacombs beneath the Vigna Massimi a very fine painting from the mid-fourth century shows a deceased man as an *orant* standing between scenes of Lazarus and Daniel in the lion's den.[86] Occasionally the names of the individuals were added, as in the scene of the heavenly meal from the Catacombs of Ss. Peter and Marcellinus dated to the first half of the fourth century.[87]

The public projects undertaken by the Roman nobles, either as private donors to the city's public life or as officials of the state, concentrated almost exclusively upon the erection of commemorative statuary. In sharp contrast with the early empire, the patricians of late antiquity sponsored very few new buildings. Throughout the period, the Praefectus Urbi Romae bore the primary responsibility for the

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public works subsidized by the state.[88] A clear outline for the activities of the city prefects can be reconstructed from the numerous inscriptions that have survived. Most of the inscriptions relating to the prefect concern the dedication of commemorative statues to the emperors.[89] Unfortunately none of these dedications can be accurately associated with any of the imperial portraits that have survived.

In addition to erecting statues to the emperors, the prefects occasionally honored a member of the emperor's family with public statuary. Thus, Ceionius Rufius Albinus, the prefect from 389-391, is known to have dedicated a statue to Thermantia, the mother of Theodosius I, which was set up in the Forum Romanum.[90] The inscriptions also record that a number of prefects re-located statues in public buildings and in the fora.[91] Presumably these involved temple statues. It appears that both pagan and Christian prefects engaged in these rededications. The Christians justified their actions on the grounds that the removal of the statues from a religious context permitted them to enjoy the statues' aesthetic qualities and their antiquity; the pagan prefects, on the other hand, apparently re-located the statues in order to preserve them from possible destruction by fanatical Christians who engaged in the wanton looting of the temples. The Christian emperors,

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recognizing the dual role of the state temples as religious centers and as physical monuments of Rome's cultural heritage, readily permitted the prefects to subsidize the restoration of these ancient buildings. Thus, the sources indicate that three structures connected with the state cult underwent repair work through the financial assistance of the city prefects: Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus as prefect in 357-359 restored the Temple of Apollo; Vettius Agorius Praetextatus as prefect in 367-368 restored the Porticus Deorum Consentium; and Claudius Hermogenianus Caesarius as prefect in 374 restored the Porticus Boni Eventus.[92]

Regarding the prefects' building projects of a non-religious character, the inscriptions establish only one actual construction, the erection of a reservoir for the Aqua Claudia by C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus Lampadius, prefect in 365.[93] However, a number of major restorations are recorded.[94] Although the city prefects supervised all projects relating to public construction and restorations, the inscriptions also indicate that other officials could at times sponsor public works. Thus, Naeratius Cerealis as consul erected public baths near his home, and Valerius Anthidius, as Vicarius Urbis Romae and Praefectus Praetorio constructed a public stable for the cursus publicus near Rome.[95]

In keeping with a long established tradition, the emperors regularly permitted the Roman Senate to erect commemorative statuary as rewards for outstanding service. At least

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one literary figure is known to have been honored with a public statue, the orator Victorinus about 354.[96] The poet Claudian, who composed several works for aristocratic families at Rome between 394 and 399, received public recognition from the Senate only in the fifth century, probably in 402.[97] The sources also indicate that six individuals received public statues from the Senate on the basis of extraordinary political service. Amnius Manius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus the Younger was voted a gilded statue shortly after 334.[98] Ceionius Rufius Albinus was granted a statue about 337.[99] Flavius Taurus was honored with a gilded statue between 364 and 367.[100] Flavius Theodosius, the father of the emperor Theodosius I, was voted an equestrian statue in 384.[101] In 384 the Senate petitioned the emperor for permission to erect statues to the memory of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus.[102] And L. Aurelius Avianus Symmachus was granted a gilded statue after his death in 377. The marble base for his statue has been preserved and is now located in Galleria Lapidaria. The dedication reads:

PHOSPHORII

LVCIO AVR AVIANIO SYMMACHO V C
PRAEFECTO VRBI CONSVLI PRO PRAEFECTIS
PRAETORIO IN VRBE ROMA FINITIMISQVE
PROVINCIIS PRAEFECTO ANNONAEVR
BIS ROMAE PONTIFICI MAIORI QVINDE
CEMVIRO · S · F · MVLTIS LEGATIONIBVS
PRO AMPLISSIMI ORDINIS DESIDERIIS
APVD DIVOS PRINCIPES FVNCTO QVI
PRIMVS IN SENATV SENTENTIAM ROGA
RI SOLITVS AVCTORITATE PRVDENTIA ATQ
ELOQVENTIA PRO DIGNITATE TANTI ORDI

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NIS MAGNITVDINEM LOCI EIVS INPLEVE
RIT AVRO INLVSTREM STATVAM QVAM
A DOMINIS AVGVSTISQ · NOSTRIS SENATVS
AMPLISSIMVS DECRETIS FREQVENTIB IN
PETRABIT IDEM TRIVMFATORES PRINCIPES
NOSTRI CONSTITVI ADPOSITA ORATIONE IVS
SERVNT QVAE MERITORVM EIVS ORDINEM
AC SERIEM CONTINERET QVORVM PERENNE
IVDICIVM TANTO MVNERI HOC QVOQVE AD
DIDIT · VT ALTERAM STATVAM PARI SPLEN
DORE ETIAM APVD CONSTANTINOPOLIM
CONLOCARET[103]

A unique aspect of the civic life of Rome during the late empire involved the use of elaborate state vestments and codicilli by the various officials of the government. As the highest ranking official in the cursus honorum the consul alone enjoyed the privileges of sending diptychs made from ivory, and of wearing silk robes embroidered with gold threads and embellished with precious stones.[104] The consular codicilli that have survived from Rome date to the middle of the fifth century and later.[105] The only state diptych which can be firmly assigned to the late fourth century or early fifth century involves a creation for a minor official of the state. This sculpture bears the inscription "Rufius Probianus v.c." on the left panel and "Vicarius Urbis Romae" on the right.[106] Both panels of the Probianus diptych consist of almost identical scenes. Each side employs a double register with the upper portions presenting the official seated frontally with his scribes, while the lower portions each contain two standing figures pointing upwards toward Probianus. The ivory has been generally dated to about 400.

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Regarding the public projects contributed by private citizens, the sources indicate that the late imperial aristocrats almost exclusively confined their activities to the erection of commemorative statuary in honor of other private citizens.[107] The inscriptions from these statue bases record at least seven separate instances of public statues dedicated by the nobles to their friends or relatives.[108] The two colossal statues of the magistrates now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori may well have been dedicated as public statues by members of the aristocracy.[109] Traditionally these toga statues have been identified as L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus and his son Q. Aurelius Symmachus. The two magistrates are shown with their right hands uplifted, ready to give the signal for the chariot races.

Like the flamboyant palaces, the household luxury articles, and the sculptured sarcophagi, these public statues served as re-enforcements of aristocratic status and as visible signs for the continuation of the community's cultural heritage.[110] With justified arrogance the late antique nobles could identify the advancement of the traditional private arts at Rome as an exclusively aristocratic pursuit, for the emperors directed their energies towards the public works and towards the Christian churches. Fourth century Rome had experienced revolutionary changes in the realm of religious and political affairs: the rule of the Christian emperors and the foundation of

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Constantinople ushered in a new era in the history of the city. Yet in the cultural realm the intense re-affirmation of the aristocratic code of life by the pagans and Christians alike insured a continuity of ancient social values and a perpetuation of Roman civilization.

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NOTES FOR CHAPTER I

[1]For the political and social history of the fourth century begin with Ernst Stein, Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches (Wien 1928) vol. 1, pp. 202-336; O. Seeck, Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt (Berlin 1897-1920) vols. 4-5; A. H. M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey (Oxford 1964) vol. 1, pp. 112-169, and vol. 2, pp. 554-557 on the wealth of the late imperial families; compare also M. T. W. Arnheim, The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire (Oxford 1972); A. Chastagnol, "L'Evolution de l'ordre sénatorial aux III^e et IV^e siècles de notre ère," Revue Historique 244 (1970) pp. 305-314.

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[2]The basic study for domestic architecture is Karl M. Swoboda, Römische und romanische Paläste, eine architekturgeschichtliche Untersuchung (3rd ed. Wien 1969); Heinrich Drerup, "Zum Ausstattungsluxus in der römischen Architektur. Ein Formgeschichtlicher Versuch," Orbis Antiquus, Schriften der Altertumswissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Universität Münster Heft 12 (1957) pp. 5-37; G. A. Mansuelli, Le ville nel mondo romano (Milan 1958); A. R. A. Van Aken, "Late Roman Domus Architecture," Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca Classica Batava series 4, vol. 2 (1949) pp. 242-251; E. R. Fiechter, "Römisches Haus," R-E series 2, vol. 1, pt. 1, cols. 961-995; E. R. Fiechter, "Haus," R-E vol. 7, pt. 2, cols. 2523-2546; J. LeGall, "Horti," R-E vol. 8, pt. 2, cols. 2482-2488; A. W. Van Buren, "Villa," R-E series 2, vol. 8^A, pt. 2, cols. 2142-2159; P. Monceaux, "Domus," DS vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 337-362; G. Lafaye, "Villa," DS vol. 5, pt. 1, pp. 870-891; G. Lafaye, "Hortus," DS vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 276-293; E. Saglio, "Palatium," DS vol. 4, pt. 1, pp. 280-282; H. Leclercq, "Maison," DACL vol. 10, pt. 1, cols. 1222-1251; J. Auboyer, "Casa," Encdell'arte vol. 2, pp. 379-401; R. Cagnat and V. Chapot, Manuel d'archéologie romaine (Paris 1916) vol. 1, pp. 275-295; Axel Boëthius, The Golden House of Nero. Some Aspects of Roman Architecture (Ann Arbor 1960); A. R. A. Van Aken, "Some Aspects of Nymphaea in Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia," Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca Classica Batava series 4, vol. 4 (1951) pp. 272-284; J. B. Ward Perkins, "The Italian Element in Late Roman and Early Christian Architecture," Proceedings of the British Academy 33 (1947) pp. 164-194; Axel Boëthius, Roman Architecture from its Classicistic to its Late Imperial Phase (Göteborg 1941); Giovanni Becatti, Case Ostiensi del tardo impero (Roma 1949); Richard Stillwell, "Houses of Antioch," DOP 15 (1961) pp. 45-57; R. Paribeni, "Le dimore dei Potentiores nel Basso Impero," MDAI(R) 55 (1940) pp. 131-148; Pierre Grimal, Les Jardins romains (2nd ed. Paris 1969); Irving Lavin, "The House of the Lord, Aspects of the Role of Palace Triclinia in the Architecture of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," AB 44 (1962) pp. 1-27; Ramsay MacMullen, "Some Pictures in Ammianus Marcellinus," AB 46 (1964) pp. 435-455; Karl M. Swoboda, "The Problem of the Iconography of Late Antique and Early Medieval Palaces," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 20 (1961) pp. 78-89.

[3]For a list of some of the great houses of Rome in the fourth century, see Index I. The best introduction to the topographical and archaeological studies of the city of Rome in the late empire is G. Lugli, Fontes ad topographiam veteris urbis Romae pertinentes (Roma 1955-1962) vols. 3, 4, and 8; and Ernest Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome (Rev. ed. New York 1968) vols. 1-2; see also G. Lugli, I monumenti antichi di Roma e suburbio (Roma 1931-1940) vols. 1-3 and supplement; Henri Jordan, Topographie der Stadt Rom im

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[4]Olympiodorus Thebaeus, Fragmenta 63a, 22. Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum vol. 4 ed. Carolus Müller (Paris 1868).

[5]For late antique paintings from Rome, see Wladimiro Dorigo, Pittura tardoromana (Milan 1966); Mary Hamilton Swindler, Ancient Painting From the Earliest Times to the Period of Christian Art (New Haven 1929); Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli, "Pittura," Encdell'arte vol. 6, pp. 207-222, esp. pp. 217-219; G. Lippold, "Malerei," R-E vol. 14, pt. 1, cols. 881-898; P. Girard, "Pictura," DS vol. 4, pt. 1, pp. 455-471; H. Leclercq, "Peinture," DACL vol. 13, pt. 2, cols. 2961-3004; H. Leclercq, "Fresques," DACL vol. 5, pt. 2, cols 2586-2639; compare also M. Rostovtzeff, Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft," MDAI(R) 26 (1911) pp. 1-185; F. Gerke, "Das Verhältnis von Malerei und Plastik in der Theodosianisch-Honorianisch Zeit," RAC 12 (1935) pp. 119-163; Amedeo Maiuri,

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Roman Painting transl. Stuart Gilbert (Geneva 1953). Also consult R. P. Hinks, Catalogue of the Greek Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum (London 1933) pp. 8-63; Eugénie Strong, "Forgotten Fragments of Ancient Wall-Paintings in Rome, I: The Palatine," PBSR 7 (1914) pp. 114-123; Eugénie Strong, "Forgotten Fragments of Ancient Wall-Paintings in Rome, II: The House in the Via de' Cerchi," PBSR 8 (1916) pp. 91-103; A. W. Van Buren, "Pinacothecae with Especial Reference to Pompeii," MAAR 15 (1938) pp. 70-81; J. M. C. Toynbee, "Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World," Collection Latomus 6 (1951) pp. 35-42 on painters; August Mau, Katalog der Bibliothek des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Rom (Berlin 1913-1930) vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 488-495 for additional references regarding paintings from the imperial age.

[6]Josef Wilpert, Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der Kirchlichen Bauten vom IV bis XIII Jahrhundert (Freiburg 1917) vol. 2, pp. 631-634 dates this genii painting to the fourth century; Germano di Santo Stanislao, AJA 7 (1891) pp. 31-33 where he dates the painting to the third century; Nash, Dictionary, vol. 1, pp. 357-361, plate on p. 360; Colini, Storia, pp. 164-166 considers a third century date more accurate. The monumental mural of Venus and Dionysus found in this same house seems to date to the third century. See Nash, Dictionary, vol. 1, p. 360, and Eugénie Strong, Art in Ancient Rome (New York 1928) vol. 2, p. 129; Colini, Storia, p. 174, and note 85 for further references regarding the date. On the Roma Barberini painting from the early fourth century which was recovered at the site of the Domus Lateranorum see Strong, Art in Rome, vol. 2, p. 206, figure 582.

[7]Wilpert, Mosaiken, pp. 631-634, dates the painting to the fourth century; Swindler, Ancient Painting, p. 406 suggests a date in the fourth or fifth century; Nash, Dictionary, vol. 1, p. 361; Germano di Santo Stanislao, AJA 7 (1891) pp. 35-37, considers the paintings as late fourth or early fifth century.

[8]Germano di Santo Stanislao, AJA 7 (1891) p. 35.

[9]Oskar Wulff, Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst (Berlin 1914-1924) vol. 1, p. 87 Abbildung 68, dates the painting as late fourth or early fifth century; Swindler, Ancient Painting, p. 406 assigns the painting to the fourth or fifth century.

[10]Colini, Storia, p. 264 and figure 222, p. 265, attributes the frescoes to the fourth century.

[11]Henri Stern, Le Calendrier de 354. Étude sur son texte et ses illustrations. (Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Histoire vol. 55.

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Paris 1953) p. 129, and plate 27, 1-3 where he dates the fresco to the fourth or fifth century.

[12]On mosaics from Rome in the late empire see C. C. Van Essen, "Verslag van Wetenschappelijke Onderzoekingen in 1949 Verricht," MNIR ser. 3, vol. 8 (1954) pp. 33-63; C. C. Van Essen, "Verslag van Wetenschappelijke Onderzoekingen in 1950 Verricht," MNIR ser. 3, vol. 8 (1954) pp. 63-119; Marion Elizabeth Blake, "Roman Mosaics of the Second Century in Italy," MAAR 13 (1936) pp. 67-206; Marion Elizabeth Blake, "Mosaics of the Late Empire in Rome and vicinity," MAAR 17 (1940) pp. 81-130; B. Nogara, I mosaici antichi conservati nei palazzi pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano (Milan 1940); M. Van Berchem and E. Clouzot, Mosaïques chrétiennes du IVe an IXe siècle (Geneve 1924); Walter F. Oakeshott, The Mosaics of Rome, from the third to the fourteenth centuries (Greenwich, Conn. 1967); Michèle Lemée, "Giands problèmes de la mosaïque au IVe siecle après J.-C.," L'Information d'Histoire de l'Art 10 (1965) pp. 47-60; Doro Levi, "Mosaico," Encdell'arte vol. 5, pp. 209-240; Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli, "Continuità ellenistica nella pittura di età medio-e-tardo-romana," RIASA n.s. 2 (1953) pp. 77-161; P. Gauckler, "Musivum opus," DS vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 2088-2129; A. W. Van Buren, "Pavimentum," R-E vol. 18, pt. 4, cols. 2309-2324; H. Leclercq, "Mosaïque," DACL vol. 12, pt. 1, cols 57-332; G. Bovini, "Il mosaico paleocristiano dalle origini alla metà del V secolo," Corsi 4 (1957) pp. 31-50; A. Nesbitt, "On Wall-decorations in sectile Work as used by the Romans, with special Reference to the Palace of the Bassi at Rome," Archaeologia 45 (1880) pp. 267-297; A. Agazzi, Il mosaico in Italia. Raccolta di note storiche e tecniche (Roma 1926); Hans Peter L'Orange, and P. J. Nordhagen, Mosaics trans. A. E. Keep (London 1966); Toynbee, Collection Latomus 6 (1951) pp. 43-50 on mosaicists; for additional bibliographical references see Mau, Katalog, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 535-538.

[13]Van Essen, 1950 Verricht, p. 105: dated fourth century; Blake, Mosaics of the Late Empire, pp. 116-117, plate 27, 2-3; and plate 31, 5: dated early fourth century.

[14]Blake, Mosaics of the Late Empire, plate 31, 5; For the polychrome mosaic pavement with geometric designs found on the via Capo d'Africa, see Colini, Storia, p. 289, figure 240: dates probably to the fourth century on the basis of similarities to certain mosaics unearthed at Ostia. Also consult Colini, Storia, for other mosaics: p. 217, figure 178 for the mosaic with a marine scene; and p. 362, figure 304 for a large geometric design pavment. For fourth century mosaics from the residences at Ostia, see Scavi di Ostia, ed. G. Calza, G. Becatti, et al., (Roma 1970) vol. 6, p. 123 ff, and pp. 67-71; (1968) vol. 4, p. 377 for the chronological table of

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mosaic work with references to the individual structures. For a mosaic of the months, see Van Essen, 1950 Verricht, p. 117 dated late fourth century; Blake, Mosaics of the Late Empire, p. 101, plate 20, 5-7 dated as fifth century; Helbig, Führer, vol. 3, # 2246, uncertain about the date, perhaps late fourth or early fifth century; Blake, Mosaics of the Late Empire p. 108, plate 23, 1: dated third century. Compare also the mosaic with the figure of Spring from Baccano, Helbig, Führer, vol. 3, #2471, dated third or fourth century.

[15]For late imperial sculpture from Rome see Wolfgang Helbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom (4th edition Tübingen 1963-1973) vols. 1-4; Walther Amelung, Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums (Berlin 1903-1956) vols. 1-3; H. Stuart Jones, editor, A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome (Oxford 1912-1926) vols. 1-2; A. Giuliano, Catalogo dei ritratti romani del museo profano lateranense. Monumenti Vaticani d'Archeologia e d'Arte vol. 10 (Città del Vaticano 1957); G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, Sculture del magazzino del Museo Vaticano. Monumenti Vaticani d'Archeologia e d'Arte vol. 4 (Città del Vaticano 1936-1937); Hans Peter L'Orange, Studien zur Geschichte des Spätantiken Porträts. Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning. Serie B: Skrifter vol. 22 (1933) pp. 1-157; Richard Delbrueck, Antike Porträts. Tabulae in usum scholarum vol. 6 (Bonn 1912); Richard Delbrueck, Spätantike Kaiserporträts von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs. Studien zur Spätantiken Kunstgeschichte vol. 8 (Berlin 1933); G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, "Spätrömische Porträts," Die Antike 2 (1926) pp. 36-60; Wulff, Kunst, vol. 1, pp. 147-200, and pp. 265-278; A. W. Byvanck, "Rome en Constantinopel in de vierde eeuw," MNIR 31 (1961) pp. 73-85; Eugénie Strong, Art in Rome, vol. 2, pp. 187-208; Andreas Rumpf, "Stilphasen der Spätantiken Kunst," Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen Geisteswissenschaften Abhandlung 44 (1955) pp. 5-52; H. Leclercq, "Sculpture," DACL vol. 15, pt. 1, cols. 1053-1099; H. Leclercq, "Statues," DACL vol. 15, pt. 2, cols. 1657-1665; Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli, "Ritratto," Encdell'arte vol. 6, pp. 695-738; Cagnat and Chapot, Manuel, pp. 508-530; Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli, "Il problema della scultura romana del III-IV secoli," Acme 5 (1952) pp. 618-631; E. Michon, La sculpture romaine au Musee du Louvre (Paris n.d.); A. De Ridder, Les Bronzes Antiques du Louvre (Paris 1913) vol. 1; Raffaele Garrucci, Storia della arte cristiana (Prato 1880-1881) vol. 6, pp. 5-38; Toynbee, Collection Latomus 6 (1951) pp. 17-33 on sculptors;

For late imperial relief work from Rome see the Catalogue for Rome, part XIII, pp. 247-50; the best introduction to relief work is Pierre Gusman, L'art décoratif de Rome de la fin de la république au IVe siècle (Paris 1914) vols. 1-3; see also O. Deubner, "Expolitio, Inkrustation und Wandmalerei,"

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MDAI(R) 54 (1939) pp. 14-41; G. Rodenwaldt, "Römische Reliefs: Vorstufen zur Spätantike," JDAI 55 (1940) pp. 12-43; Hans Sedlmayr, "Spätantike Wandsysteme," Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-Hist. Klasse, Jahrgang 1958 Heft 7, pp. 5-55; G. Becatti, "Incrostazione," Encdell'arte vol. 4, pp. 130-133; C. C. Van Essen, "Verslag van Wetenschappelijke Onderzoekingen Gedurende 1950 over Laat-Romeinse Kunst Verricht," MNIR ser. 3, vol. 7 (1953) pp. 92-96; S. De Marinis, et al., "Stucco," Encdell'arte vol. 7, pp. 524-533; H. Leclercq, "Chapiteau," DACL vol. 3, pt. 1, cols. 439-461; H. Thédenat, "Lacunar," DS vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 902-904; I. Calabi-Limentani, "Marmorarius," Encdell'arte vol. 4, pp. 870-875; Salomon Reinach, Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains (Paris 1912) vol. 3; L. Laurenzi, "Composizioni plastiche del tardo - antico," Corsi 7 (1960) pp. 133-138.

For the statue from late antiquity signed by the sculptor Atticianus, see Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, The Hadrianiac School, A Chapter in the History of Greek Art (Cambridge, Eng. 1934) p. 243: dated late third or early fourth century; provenance not assigned, now in the Uffizi. For the seated statue of Christ in the Terme Museum see C. C. Van Essen, Précis d'histoire de l'art antique en Italie Collection Latomus 42 (1960) p. 124, note 5 where the statue is dated as late imperial. Compare also the statue of Christ as the Good Shepherd, F. Gerke, Christus in der Spätantiken Plastik (Mainz 1948), Tafel 1: dated as ca. 360.

[16]Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 2, Sala degli animali, #247a, Tafel 38: dated as a late work; Gusman, L'art décoratif, vol. 2, plate 120,2: dated fourth century. For two candelabra from the late empire see Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 2, Galleria delle statue #412 and #413 Tafeln 60-61.

[17]Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (Berlin 1876) vol. 6, 1777; Jones, Prosopography, pp. 722-724.

[18]CIL, vol. 6, 1699, and 1782 both dated ca. 394; Jones, Prosopography, p. 347 and pp. 865-870.

[19]CIL, vol. 6, 2145; see CIL, vol. 6, pt. 1, p. 864 for a note on the discovery of this statue; Jones, Prosopography, p. 675: the inscription dates after the death of her husband in 384; Lanciani, Ancient Rome, p. 169; Boissier, La Fin du Paganisme vol. 2, pp. 262-265; W. Ensslin, "Vettius Agorius Praetextatus," R-E vol. 22, pt. 2, cols. 1575-1579.

[20]CIL, vol. 6, 1780; Jones, Prosopography, p. 675, dated about 384.

[21]CIL, vol. 6, 1753; Jones, Prosopography, p. 639 and pp. 736-740.

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[22]CIL, vol. 6, 1756; Lugli, Fontes, vol. 4, p. 392.

[23]For the Esquiline treasure see O. M. Dalton, Catalogue of early Christian antiquities and objects from the Christian East in the Department of British and Mediaeval antiquities and ethnography of the British Museum (London 1901) pp. 36-39 and pp. 61-77, dated as fourth or fifth century. Maria Teresa Tozzi, "Il tesoro di Projecta," RAC 9 (1932) pp. 279-314, dated late fourth century; Gusman, L'art décoratif, vol. 1, plate 26 and vol. 3, plates 161-163, dated fourth or fifth century; E. Barbier, "La signification du cortège représenté sur le couvercle du coffret de Projecta," Cahiers Archéologiques 12 (1962) pp. 7-33. And compare also the outstanding silverwork in Berlin which may well have been produced at Rome: Hayford Peirce and Royal Tyler, L'art byzantin (Paris 1932-1934) vol. 1, p. 55, plates 58-59: dated fourth century; provenance not assigned.

For other late antique metalwork from Rome see G. L. Brett, "Formal Ornament on late Roman and early Byzantine Silver," PBSR 15 (1939) pp. 33-41; Carlo Cecchelli, La vita di Roma nel Medio Evo. vol. 1, pts. 1 and 2: Le arti minori e il costume (Roma 1951-1952) pt. 1, pp. 79-99; Helmut Buschhausen, Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare. Part I: Katalog. Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 9 (Wien 1971); Josef Strzygowski, "The Authenticity of Early Christian Silver," AB 10 (1928) pp. 370-377; D. E. Strong, Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate (London 1966) pp. 182-209; Angelo Lipinsky, "Ori argenti gioielli del mondo tardo-romano paleo-cristiano e paleo-bizantino in Italia fino al movimento iconoclasta," Corsi 12 (1965) pp. 405-452; W. F. Volbach, "Argenterie dei secoli V e VI d.C.," Corsi 5 (1958) pp. 101-105; I. Calabi-Limentani, "Argentarius," Encdell'arte vol. 1, pp. 619-621; E. Saglio and Ch. Graux, "Chrysographia," DS vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 1134-1140; E. Saglio, "Argentum," DS vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 409-411; Cagnat and Chapot, Manuel, vol. 2, pp. 394-463; E. Saglio, "Caelatura," DS, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 778-809; Toynbee, Collection Latomus 6 (1951) pp. 51-56 on metalworkers.

See in addition Winifred Lamb, Greek and Roman Bronzes (London 1929) pp. 216-246; Gisela M. A. Richter, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York 1915); H. B. Walters, Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum (London 1899); Mau, Katalog, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 773-782 for additional references on imperial metalware.

[24]Jones, Prosopography, p. 817 and p. 750.

[25]See the Catalogue for Rome, part , pp. .

[26]Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, pp. 66-67.

[27]Ibid., p. 71, #312-315.

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[28]Ibid., pp. 60-64, #304, plate 13.

[29]Ibid., pp. 64-66, #305, plate 19.

[30]Gusman, L'art décoratif, vol. 1, plate 26.

[31]Colini, Storia, p. 253, figure 213: dated early fourth century.

[32]Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, pp. 74-75: #332 = Rome; #333 = Constantinople; #334 = Antioch; #335 = Alexandria; illustrations pp. 74-75 and plate 20.

[33]The best introduction to ivory sculpture of the era is E. P. De Loos-Dietz, Vroeg-Christelijke Ivoren, Studie over de Stijlontwikkeling op den Overgang van de Vierde naar de vijfde Eeuw (Assen 1947); W. F. Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters (Mainz 1952), and pp. 9-15 for extensive bibliography; C. R. Morey, editor, Catalogo del Museo sacro della Biblioteca apostolica vaticana. Vol. I: Gli oggetti di avorio e di osso (Città del Vaticano 1936); Richard Delbrueck, Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler. Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte vol. 2 (Berlin 1929); Hans Graeven, "Heidnische Diptychen," MDAI(R) 28 (1913) pp. 198-304; Richard Delbrueck, "Zu spätrömischen Elfenbeinen des Westreichs," Bonner Jahrbuch 152 (1952) pp. 165-189; Elizabeth Rosenbaum, "The Andrews Diptych and Some Related Ivories," AB 36 (1954) pp. 253-261; H. Leclercq, "Ivoires," DACL vol. 7, pt. 2, cols. 1925-1987; H. Leclercq, "Diptyques (archéologie)," DACL vol. 4, pt. 1, cols. 1094-1170; G. Bloch, "Diptychon," DS vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 271-277; Garrucci, Storia della arte, vol. 6, pp. 56-88, and pp. 101-103; H. Blümner, "Elfenbein," R-E, vol. 5, pt. 2, cols. 2356-2366; Cecchelli, La vita di Roma vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 195-243; Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities pp. 48-53; C. Albizzati and L. Becherucci, "Avorio," Encdell'arte vol. 1, pp. 937-944; R. Kanzler, Gli avori dei Musei profano e sacro della Biblioteca Vaticana (Città del Vaticano 1903); J. Natanson, Early Christian Ivories (London 1953); John Beckwith, "The Werden Casket Reconsidered" AB 40 (1958), pp. 1-11.

[34]De Loos-Dietz, Ivoren, pp. 83-92: assigned to Rome, A.D. 392-393; Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, p. 39, #55 Tafel 14: assigned to Rome at the end of the fourth century; Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen, #54: assigned to Rome, about A.D. 400.

[35]De Loos-Dietz, Ivoren, pp. 90-92: assigned to Rome, at the end of the century; Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen, #55: assigned to Rome, about A.D. 400; Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #57, p. 40 Tafel 15: assigned to the western provinces not Rome; about A.D. 400.

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[36]De Loos-Dietz, Ivoren, pp. 103-106: assigned to Rome, about A.D. 400; John Beckwith, Early Christian and Byzantine Art (Harmondsworth 1970) plate 36: assigned to Rome in the late fourth century; Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #111, p. 58, Tafel 33: dated about 400, probably Rome; Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen, #68: attributed to Rome about 400.

[37]De Loos-Dietz, Ivoren, pp. 106-112: assigned to Rome about A.D. 400; Beckwith, Chx Byz Art plate 37: assigned to Rome; late fourth or early fifth century; Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #110, pp. 57-58 Tafel 33: dated about 400; perhaps from Rome.

[38]R. Garrucci, Vetri ornati di figure in oro (Roma 1864); Garrucci, Storia della arte, vol. 3, pp. 104-203 on glassware from the catacombs; vol. 6, pp. 157-164; Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, pp. 117-138; Achille Deville, Histoire de l'art de la verrerie dans l'antiquité (Paris 1871); Frederic Neuburg, Ancient Glass transl. M. Bullock and A. Jaffa (London 1962); Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, vol. 1, pt. 1 pp. 131-165; H. Leclercq, "Verre," DACL, vol. 15, pt. 2, cols. 2966-2985; Franca Zanchi Roppo, "Vetri paleocristiani a figure d'oro," Collana di Quaderni di Antichità Ravennati, Cristiane e Bizantine vol. 8 (1967), pp. 5-62; see in addition Christian Eduard Ludwig Wilhelm Froehner, Nomenclature des verriers grecs et romains (Paris 1879); Gustavus A. Eisen, "Ancient Glass," AB 2 (1919) pp. 87-120; Otto Doppelfeld, Römisches und Fränkisches Glas in Köln (Köln 1966); Mau, Katalog, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 839-850 for additional references.

[39]Roppo, Vetri, pp. 16-18; Garrucci, Storia della arte, vol. 3, pp. 104-203.

[40]Heinrich Fuhrmann, "Studien zu den Consulardiptychen verwandten Denkmälern, eine Glasschale von der Vicennalienfeier Constantins des Grossen zu Rom im Jahre 326 nach Chr.," MDAI(R) 54 (1939) pp. 161-175, and Tafel 36; Strong, Art in Rome, vol. 2, p. 205: dated as fourth century.

[41]John Beckwith, "Late-Antique and Early Christian Art: Glassware," Encyclopedia of World Art, vol. 9, cols. 146-147, plate 88: assigned to Rome, in the fifth century; André Grabar, Die Kunst in Zeitalter Justinians, vom Tod Theodosius I bis zum Vordringen des Islams (München 1967), p. 320, Tafel 376: assigned to the fifth century.

[42]Peirce, Art vol. 1, p. 56 plate 63: the editors maintain that this was a unique development of the fourth century.

[43]Beckwith, Encyclopedia of World Art, vol. 9, col. 146, plate 88: probably from Rome, second half of the fourth century.

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[44]Peirce, Art, vol. 1, p. 56 plate 63: provenance not assigned, dated fourth century; Grabar, Kunst, p. 322, Tafel 378: provenance not assigned, dated fourth century; Neuburg, Ancient Glass, p. 82, plate 87: dated third to the fourth century; Beckwith, Encyclopedia of World Art, vol. 9, col. 146: probably the fourth century.

[45]Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli, Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad (Olten 1955) p. 27; Kurt Weitzmann, Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination, edited by H. L. Kessler (Chicago 1971) pp. 96-98.

[46]For an introduction to manuscript developments at Rome in this era see Theodor Birt, Das Antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältnis zur Litteratur (Berlin 1882) chapter 7, pp. 342-371, and chapter 8, pp. 372-430; E. A. Lowe, "Some Facts about our Oldest Latin Manuscripts," CQ 19 (1925), pp. 197-208; E. A. Lowe, "More Facts about our Oldest Latin Manuscripts," CQ 22 (1928) pp. 43-62; H. Geraud, Essai sur les Livres dans l'Antiquité, particulièrement chez les Romains (Paris 1840); André Langie, Les Bibliothèques Publiques dans l'ancienne Rome et dans l'Empire Romain (Fribourg 1908); Ernst Posner, Archives in the Ancient World (Cambridge, Mass. 1972) pp. 186-223; Kurt Weitzmann, Ancient Book Illumination (Cambridge, Mass. 1959); Kurt Weitzmann, Illustration in Roll and Codex. A Study of the origin and method of the text illustration (Princeton 1947); Erich Bethe, Buch und Bild im Altertum (Leipzig 1945). See also the very interesting study of the literary activities of the nobles, / _/ Lommatzsch, "Litterarische Bewegungen in Rom in vierten und fünften Jahrhundert n. Chr.," Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte, Neue Folge, vol. 15 (1904) pp. 177-192, which provides a guide to their favorite authors and thus an indication of what manuscripts may have been illustrated at the time; G. Bardy, "Copies et éditions au V siècle," Revue des sciences religieuses 23 (1949) pp. 38-52; H. Leclercq, "Manuscrits," DACL, vol. 10, pt. 2, cols. 1603-1774; McGeachy, Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, pp. 153-191.

For a library unearthed at the site of a late antique residence in Rome, see Middleton, Remains, vol. 2, pp. 254-255.

[47]/Franz Ehrle/, Fragmenta et picturae Vergiliana codicis Vaticani Latini 3225 phototypice expressa consilis et opera curatorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae (Città del Vaticano 1945) pp. 11-12: assigned to fourth century Rome; Pierre De Nolhac, Fragmenta et picturae Virgiliana codicis Vaticani 3225 (Roma 1899) who dates the manuscript to the fourth century on the basis of the paleography; Bianchi-Bandinelli, Miniatures of the Iliad, pp. 140-141, where the manuscript is assigned to Rome, with the insistence that no absolute dates can be affixed, esp. p. 140 "The drawing is not so free and shows all

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the incipient stylistic character of late antiquity, no earlier than the end of the 3rd century but closer to the forms used in the middle of the 4th century"; Grabar, Kunst, pp. 193-194, Tafeln 210-212: assigned to Rome in the late fourth century; S. J. Gąsiorowski, Malarstivo minjaturowe grecko-rzymskie (Kraków 1928), assigns the manuscript to the first half of the fourth century; modelled upon a work of the second or third century; Weitzmann, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, pp. 114-115: assigned to the late fourth or early fifth century; Pierre De Nolhac, "Le Virgile du Vatican," Notices et Extraits 35, pt. 2 (1897) pp. 683-791; Swindler, Ancient Painting, pp. 409-410: dated fourth century; J. De Wit, Miniaturen des Vergilius Vaticanus (Amsterdam 1959) pp. 153-155, assigned to Rome in the early fifth century; Cecchelli, La vita di Rome, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 431: assigned to Rome in the fourth century; Strong, Art in Rome, vol. 2, p. 205: dated as fourth century but with the suggestion that these involved imitations of a manuscript from the Augustan Age.

[48] /Ehrle/ Fragmenta et picturae codicis 3225, pict. 27; Grabar, Kunst, Tafel 210 (color plate).

[49] The most exhaustive treatment of this document is that by Stern, Le Calendrier de 354 (see note 11 above for the full bibliographical entry), with plates 1-24 for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries copies of the illustrations, and pp. 42-46 on the date and on Valentinus; Josef Strzygowski, Die Calenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354. JDAI, Ergänzungsheft I (1888) pp. 1-106, and Tafeln 3-33 for the illustrations; Carl Nordenfalk, "Der Kalender vom Jahre 354 und Lateinische Buchmalerei des IV Jahrhunderts," Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps = Och Vitterhets = Samhälles Handlingar, Femte Följden, Serien A, Humanistika Skrifter vol. 5 fasc. 2 (1935) pp. 1-36; Bianchi-Bandinelli, Miniatures of the Iliad, p. 142 for a discussion of the origin of this almanac. For the Itala fragment which constitutes the oldest surviving manuscript with illustrations of the Latin version of the Bible see the discussion by Bianchi-Bandinelli, Miniatures of the Iliad, p. 141.

[50] Stern, Le Calendrier de 354, plate 1.

[51] For a discussion of the emergence of Constantinople as the aristocratic center see Jones, The Later Roman Empire, vol. 2, p. 553.

The discussion of the household arts at Rome has omitted several topics: (1) The attire and jewelry of the nobles' seems to have been strongly influenced by the styles at Constantinople; for a discussion of these see the chapter on Constantinople. (2) Textiles have not survived in quantity from fourth century Rome. (3) Pottery played a distinctly minor role. (4) The gems are noted in the Catalogue for Rome.

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[52]Consult Index III, pp. 320-330.

[53]Nash, Dictionary, vol. 1, pp. 525-529; also see Index III, p. 329.

[54]Consult Index III, pp. 320-326.
For religious art of the pagan community see the wall painting with Mithras from the site of the Domus Nummii Albini, Vermaseren, Corpus, p. 167, #386 dated as probably fourth century; also the marble relief of Mithras' birth, Vermaseren, Corpus, p. 160, #353, dated fourth century; and a marble relief with Sol from the Forum of Nerva, Vermaseren, Corpus, p. 175, #411-412, dated fourth century. For a painting of Diana from a pagan temple on the via Livenza, see Van Essen, Collection Latomus 42 (1960) p. 124, note 4, where it is dated fourth century. On pagan textiles from Egypt see Paul Friedländer, Documents of Dying Paganism. Textiles of Late Antiquity in Washington, New York, and Leningrad (Berkeley 1945).

[55]Consult Index III, part I, #1, 2, 15, 19 and 20, pp. 320; 324-325.

[56]CIL, vol. 6, 32422; Jones, Prosopography, p. 206 and p. 849.

[57]CIL, vol. 6, 1778; Jones, Prosopography, pp. 722-724 and also p. 976 where the editors cite another inscription involving a list of seven senators who possibly belonged to one of the pagan colleges; perhaps statues were also erected.

[58]CIL, vol. 6, 1779.
For other pagan steles from late antiquity see Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 1, Galleria Lapidaria, #8a, the gravestone of Aurelius Magnus, dated third to the fourth century; and #22a dated as fourth century. See also the edict on the protection of cemeteries, CIL, vol. 6, 31982.

[59]Die Antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs, ed. C. Robert et al. (Berlin 1870-1968) vols. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7; G. M. A. Hanfmann, The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks (Cambridge, Mass. 1951) vols. 1-2; Bernard Andreae, "Studien zur römischen Grabkunst," MDAI(R) Ergänzungsheft 9 (1963) pp. 9-167; F. Matz, Hellenistische und römische Grabbauten," Die Antike 4 (1928) pp. 266-292; Emile Cahen, "Sepulcrum," DS vol. 4, pt. 2, pp. 1209-1240; Franz Cumont, Recherches sur le Symbolisme Funéraire des Romains (Paris 1942); Robert Turcan, Les sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques, essai de chronologie et d'histoire religieuse. Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, vol. 210 (Paris 1966).
Also compare the late imperial pagan sarcophagi in the Vatican, Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 1, Galleria Lapidaria, #5c, dated third to fourth century; #18e, dated fourth century;

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24b, dated third to fourth century; #42a, dated as late Roman; #47, dated as a late work; #63d, dated fourth century; #162, probably a late emperial work; #177, probably a late work.

[60]Hanfmann, The Season Sarcophagus, vol. 1, pp. 16-18, and vol. 2, plates 2-16: dated ca. 335; assigned to Rome; G. M. A. Richter, Catalogue of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Cambridge, Mass. 1956) pp. 19-22, #12, plate 8, dated first half of the fourth century; assigned to Rome.

[61]For an explanation of the unfinished portraits see Richter, Catalogue, p. 21.

[62]Hanfmann, The Season Sarcophagus, vol. 1, p. 69: dated late third or early fourth century. He provides a list of other mythological sarcophagi from late antiquity, p. 69; Alois Riegl, Spätrömische Kunstindustrie (Wien 1927) p. 135, figure 25: assigned to Rome in the fourth century.

[63]Hanfmann, The Season Sarcophagus, vol. 1, p. 69: dated late third or early fourth century; Riegl, Kunstindustrie, p. 133, figure 24: assigned to Rome in the early fourth century.

[64]The fundamental study of the early churches is Richard Krautheimer, Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae. The early Christian basilicas of Rome, IV-IX centuries (Città del Vaticano 1937-1970) vols. 1-4; F. W. Deichmann, Frühchristliche Kirchen in Rom (Basel 1948); Mariano Armellini, Le chiese di Roma (Roma 1942) vols. 1 and 2; Richard Krautheimer, "The Constantinian Basilica," DOP 21 (1967) pp. 115-140; G. Matthiae, Le chiese di Roma dal IV al X secolo. Roma cristiana 3 (Bologna 1962); J. M. Petersen, "House-churches in Rome," Vigiliae Christianae 23 (1969) pp. 264-272; J. M. C. Toynbee and J. B. Ward Perkins, The Shrine of St. Peter's and the Vatican Excavations (London 1956).

[65]Consult Index II, pp. 309-319. Of the nineteen churches reasonably dated to 313-395, seven involved definite imperial sponsorship: (1) S. Agnes fuori le Mura; (2) S. Croce in Gerusalemme; (3) the Lateran basilica; (4) S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura; (5) S. Marcellino e Pietro; (6) S. Paolo fuori le Mura; and (7) St. Peter's. Also (8) S. Sebastian most likely owes its foundation to Constantine or his sons.

Another seven reflected definite papal funding: (1) S. Anastasia; (2) S. Ermete; (3) the basilica of Liberius; (4) S. Lorenzo in Damaso; (5) S. Marco; (6) S. Maria in Trastevere; (7) S. Valentino. One other church, (8) S. Pudenziana, probably also involved papal subsidies.

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The financing of the other three churches cannot be determined: S. Clemente; S. Crisogono; and S. Pietro in Vincoli. These three may have involved aristocratic sponsorship.

The aristocrat Attica, the wife of Fl. Magnus, is known to have erected a chapel at S. Lorenzo in Damaso, see Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 146, notes 7-8.

[66]On the Christian sarcophagi from Rome see Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage, vol. 1, pts. 1-2: Rom und Ostia, ed. F. W. Deichmann (Wiesbaden 1967); Josef Wilpert, I sarcofagi cristiani antichi (Roma 1929-1936) vols. 1-3; Giuseppe Bovini, I sarcofagi paleocristiani. Determinazione della loro cronologia mediante l'analisi dei ritratti. Monumenti di antichità cristiana. Serie II, vol. 5 (Città del Vaticano 1949); F. Gerke, Die christlichen Sarkophage der vorkonstantinischen Zeit. Studien zur Spätantiken Kunstgeschichte vol. 11 (Berlin 1940); Henri Marrou, ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ. Étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains (Grenoble 1938); H. von Schoenebeck, "Die christliche Sarkophagplastik unter Konstantin," MDAI(R) 51 (1936) pp. 238-336; Alexander Coburn Soper, "The Latin Style on Christian Sarcophagi of the Fourth Century," AB 19 (1937) pp. 148-202; Marion Lawrence, "City Gate Sarcophagi," AB 10 (1927) pp. 1-47; Marion Lawrence, "Columnar Sarcophagi in the Latin West," AB 14 (1932) pp. 103-185; H. Leclercq, "Sarcophage," DACL, vol. 15, pt. 1, cols. 778-888.

On martyria see Richard Krautheimer, "Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium," Cahiers Archéologiques 11 (1960) pp. 15-40; J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Memoria, martyr's tomb, and martyr's church," Journal of Theological Studies 17 (1966) pp. 20-37; André Grabar, Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique (Paris 1943-1946) vols. 1-3; G. Bovini, "Coemeteria-basilicae d'eta costantiniana a Roma," Corsi 15 (1968) pp. 91-107; F. W. Deichmann, "Märtyrerbasilika, Martyrion, Memoria, und Altargrab," MDAI(R) 77 (1970) pp. 144-169.

[67]Richard Krautheimer, "The Crypt of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin and the Mausoleum of Probus Anicia," Essays in Honor of Karl Lehmann, Marsyas, Supplement I (1964) pp. 171-175.

[68]CIL, vol. 6, 1756 addendum.

[69]Repertorium der Sarkophage, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 277-278, #678, Tafel 107 with full bibliography.

[70]Krautheimer, Marsyas, Supplement I (1964) p. 173, note 12.

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[71]Repertorium der Sarkophage, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 279-282, Tafeln 104-105; F. Gerke, Der Sarkophag des Junius Bassus (Berlin 1936); J. A. Gaertner, "Zur Deutung des Junius-Bassus-Sarkophages," JDAI 83 (1968) pp. 240-264.

[72]CIL, vol. 6, 32004; Jones, Prosopography, p. 155.

[73]Repertorium der Sarkophage, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 274-276, #677, Tafel 106.

[74]Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 4, pt. 1, 99-147.

[75]Ibid., p. 103 for the inscription and pp. 136-137, and figure 125, p. 138; A. K. Fraser, Four late antique rotundas. Aspects of fourth century Architectural Style in Rome (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University 1964).

[76]Ibid., p. 138.

[77]A. Ferrua, Epigrammata Damasiana (Città del Vaticano 1942) p. 142.

[78]Repertorium der Sarkophage, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 138, #238, Tafel 53.

[79]Repertorium der Sarkophage, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 43-45, #45, Tafel 15.

[80]H. Leclercq, "Catacombes," DACL, vol. 2, pt. 2, cols. 2376-2450.

[81]Ferrua, Epigrammata, pp. 13-17; H. Leclercq, "Damase," DACL, vol. 4, pt. 1, cols. 146-197; Orazio Marucchi, Epigrafia cristiana, trattato elementare (Milan 1910) pp. 340-390.

[82]J. Ch. Picard, "Étude sur l'emplacement des tombes des Papes du III^e^ — X^e^ siècle," Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome 81 (1969) pp. 725-782.

[83]Ibid., pp. 736-737.

[84]Repertorium der Sarkophage, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 26-27, #29, Tafel 10.

[85]Josef Wilpert, Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms (Freiburg 1903) vols. 1-2; Raffaella Farioli, "Pitture di epoca tarda nelle catacombe romane," Collana di Quaderni di Antichità Ravennati, Cristiane e Bizantine 1 (1963) pp. 5-68; Pasquale Testini, La catacombe e gli antichi cimiteri cristiani in Roma (Bologna 1966); A. B. Schuchert, "Die römische Katakombenmalerei im Wandel der Kunstkritik,"

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Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte 39 (1931) pp. 7-22; F. Gerke, Licht im Tode. Das heilige Antlitz in der spätantiken Grabmalerei (Freiburg 1944); Karl Kampffmeyer, Die Landschaft in der Altchristlichen Katakombenmalerei (Greifswald 1933); E. R. Goodenough, "Catacomb Art," Journal of Biblical Literature 81 (1963) pp. 113-142; H. Leclercq, "Catacombes (Art des)," DACL, vol. 2, pt. 2, cols. 2450-2486; P. A. Février, "Recherches récentes sur les catacombes de Rome. Art et société de l'antiquité tardive à Rome, IIIe et IVe siècles," Revue Historique 239 (1968) pp. 1-18 for an excellent bibliographical essay.

[86]Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 62, 1: dated mid-fourth century.

[87]Ibid., Tafel 157, 1: dated to the first half of the fourth century.

[88]André Chastagnol, La Préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines d'Alger 34. Paris 1960), pp. 335-371, cf. 43-63, and pp. 414-442; André Chastagnol, Les Fastes de la Préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire (Paris 1962); C. L. La Branche, Roma nobilis. The Public Architecture of Rome, 330-476 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, 1968); C. Dupont, "Les textes constantiniens et le prefect de la ville," Revue Historique et Droit français et étranger 57 (1969) pp. 613-644; William Gurnee Sinnigen, The Officium of the Urban Prefecture During the Later Roman Empire. Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 17 (1957) esp. pp. 49-56; R. Cagnat, "Praefectus urbi," DS, vol. 4, pt. 1, pp. 619-622; E. Sachers, "Praefectus urbi," R-E vol. 22, pt. 2, cols. 2502-2534.

And compare G. Vitucci, Ricerche sulla praefectura urbi in età imperiale, sec. 1-3 (Roma 1956). Also consult H. Thédenat, "Curatores," DS, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 1621-1622; H. Thédenat, "Cura aquarum," DS, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 1615-1617; O. Viedebantt, "Forum Romanum (Bauten)," R-E Supplement, part 4, cols. 461-511; G. Humbert, "Opera publica," DS, vol. 4, pt. 1, pp. 201-206; Ch. Lécrivain, "Opus publicum," DS vol. 4, pt. 1, pp. 213-214; H. Thédenat, "Curatores aedium sacrarum locorum et operum publicorum," DS vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 1622-1623; K. Lehmann and J. Hartleben, "Städtebau," R-E, series 2, vol. 3^A, pt. 2, cols. 2017-2124.

[89]Consult the Catalogue for Rome, part XVI, pp. 257-267; and Index III, pp. 320-330; and Index IV, pp. 331-335.

[90]CIL, vol. 6, 36960; Jones, Prosopography, pp. 37-38 and p. 909.

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[91]CIL, vol. 6, 1672 a-b, and the others cited in the Catalogue for Rome, part XIV , pp. 251-255.

[92]Consult Index III, pp. 326-330.

[93]Consult Index IV, p. 332.

[94]Consult Index IV, pp. 331-335.

[95]Consult Index IV, pp. 331-335.

[96]See Jones, Prosopography, p. 964 where the literary source is cited. Compare also Thomas Pekáry, "Goldene Statuen der Kaiserzeit," MDAI(R) 75 (1968) pp. 144-148.

[97]CIL, vol. 6, 1710; Glover, Life and Letters in the Fourth Century, p. 220; he also points that Sidonius Apollinaris shortly after 402 also received a statue from the Senate.

[98]CIL, vol. 6, 1683; Jones, Prosopography, p. 679.

[99]CIL, vol. 6, 1708; Jones, Prosopography, p. 37.

[100]Jones, Prosopography, p. 879 where the inscription found in 1934 is cited.

[101]Jones, Prosopography, p. 904 where the literary source is provided.

[102]Jones, Prosopography, p. 723 where the source is provided.

[103]CIL, vol. 6, 1698; Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 1, Galleria Lapidaria, #87a, no plate provided.

[104]See Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen, pp. 66-80 ; G. Humbert and G. Bloch, "Consul," DS vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 1455-1481, esp. 1466-1481 on the insignia and diptychs. Consult the miniatures from the Calendar of 354 with miniatures of Constantus II and Gallus as consuls dressed in the elaborate robes, Stern, Le Calendrier de 354, plates 14-15.

[105]Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, pp. 21-43; Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen, pp. 90 ff; De Loos-Dietz, Ivoren, pp. 91-95; Edward Capps, Jr., "The Style of the Consular Diptychs," AB 10 (1927) pp. 61-103.

[106]De Loos-Dietz, Ivoren, pp. 91-95, and 101-105: dated ca. 392; assigned to Rome; Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #62 pp. 41-42, Tafel 18: attributed to Rome, ca. 400; Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen, #65: assigned to Rome, ca. 400.

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[107]The basilica of Junius Bassus, and six other halls dating to the late empire have been omitted from the discussion on the grounds that their purpose remains unclear. At present it can not be established where they served as public or private structures. In fact there is a strong possibility that six of these may have served as Christian churches. For information on each see Index V. For the outstanding mosaics from the basilica of Junius Bassus see M. Cagiano de Azevedo, "La datazione delle tarsie della basilica di Giunio Basso," Rend Pont Acc 40 (1967-1968) pp. 151-170 who maintains that Junius Bassus, consul in 331, constructed the building, but that the decorations were added later, probably in the second half of the fourth century by Terracius Bassus who was a city prefect sometime after 375; Nash, Dictionary, vol. 1, pp. 190-195, plate #217 the lion and a heifer; plate #218 the lion and a bull; plate #219 Hylas; plate #220 the consul in the chariot; the mosaics are not dated but the construction of the basilica is assigned to Iunius Bassus, consul in 331; Jones, A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures, vol. 2, p. 260 and p. 264, who dates the basilica and the decorations to Junius Bassus consul in 317; Helbig, Führer, vol. 2, #1803 dated as late imperial; Nesbitt, Archaeologia 45 (1880) pp. 274-275; Strong, Art in Rome, vol. 2, pp. 202-203; G. Lugli and Thomas Ashby, "La Basilica di Giunio Basso sull' Esquilino," RAC 9 (1932) pp. 221-255 who argue that it was designed as a schola domestica.

[108]See the Catalogue for Rome, part XVII, pp. 268-272, #4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, and 17. See Index IV, p. 331, for the inscription containing a reference to the establishment of a forum by Acilius Glabrio Sibidius Spedius.

[109]Helbig, Führer, vol. 2, #1491: where both statues are dated ca. 400; Strong, Art in Rome, vol. 2, pp. 194-195: identified as the two Symmachi; Rumpf, Stilphasen, Tafel 14, #60 and #62, and Tafel 15, #67 and #71, and p. 23 note 53: dated late fourth century; compare also L'Orange, Porträts, p. 73, note 1, and p. 90 note 8, no plates provided: dated fifth century; Delbrueck, Antike Porträts, p. 57, Abbildung 28 and Tafel 56: dated about 400.

[110]See also the statements of Ammianus Marcellinus 14, 6, 1-14, 6, 24, and 28, 4, 6-28, 4, 27 (Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt ed. C. U. Clark. 2 vols. Berlin, 1963) who observed that the nobles at Rome suffered from a pre-occupation with material possessions and aristocratic privileges.

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CHAPTER II

IMPERIAL SPONSORSHIP IN ROME

In an attempt to dramatize the special honors provided for the city of Rome in the re-organized empire of late antiquity, the Christian emperors implemented an enlightened program of art patronage committed to the glorification of Rome's cultural facilities and her classical heritage. Independently of this secular campaign, the Constantinopolitan rulers also engaged in a lavish building program dedicated to the celebration of Rome's early Christian shrines. After almost eighty years of imperial neglect and parsimony caused by the military anarchy of the mid-third century and the radical administrative changes of Diocletian that stripped Rome of her privileges, the eternal city once more enjoyed a resurgence of imperial projects in architecture and the decorative arts through the activities of the Christian emperors.[1] This re-awakening of imperial enthusiasm for Rome stemmed from their cultural idealization of the ancient city after the foundation of New Rome and from their fervent desire to provide all Christian martyria throughout the empire with magnificant structures commensurate with Christianity's new association with the imperial house. Although Christian sentiments intensified the emperors' devotion to Rome, their secular program for the arts would have developed even without the presence of Christian sites in Rome to spur their concerns, for the movement of the capital to Constantinople evoked a profound respect for

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Rome's past achievements. Nonetheless the actual coupling of spiritual and cultural loyalties to Rome armed the Christian emperors with a visionary commitment that rivaled the enthusiasm of Augustus.[2] Thus Constantine and Constantius, the foremost Christian patrons, instilled among their successors a spirit of cultural tolerance and generosity that produced an efflorescence of the secular civic arts as a counterpart to the ecclesiastical building projects.

The following essay will first examine the public commissions and then the grandiose churches. In the public realm the emperors concentrated their energies on the public games and on the embellishment of the city's recreational centers, particularly the Circus Maximus, the Horti Sallustiani, and the public thermae.[3] By promoting the public exhibitions, especially the ludi circenses, the Christian rulers paid tribute to one of Rome's oldest and most venerated institutions; likewise by adding to the art treasuries in the community centers the imperial patrons exalted the positive cultural force of these facilities in the lives of the Roman people. Through their sponsorship of these civic resources, it became possible for the emperors to gratify the aspirations of the old capital for cultural hegemony and yet still manipulate the pageantry and splendor of the public commissions for their own political purposes. In brief, their genuine attachment to Urbs Roma expressed itself in a manner that permitted the inclusion of their own cause, namely the identification of the new Christian rule with the preservation

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of the city's public institutions of culture. In this way the Christian emperors joined with the Roman patricians in a common cause of creating a cultural program for the public arts that transcended pagan or Christian loyalties.

Throughout the long history of Rome, the Circus Maximus more than any other single building symbolized the cultural facilities of the city, and it thus became a focal point for the artistic program of the Christian emperors. From the time of Tarquinius Priscus the long valley between the Palatine and the Aventine hills had continued to serve as the principal site of Rome's public exhibitions, receiving its first permanent seating structure from Julius Caesar. As a result of the center's antiquity, the emperors achieved an image of cultural continuity and patriotic leadership through the various works of art which they presented to the Circus Maximus. In April and May of 357 during his official state visit, the emperor Constantius commissioned a number of important civic works of art; as his special gift to the city of Rome, Constantius ordered that the obelisk of Thutmose III should be transported from Egypt to be erected on the spina of the Circus Maximus.[4] According to contemporary reports Constantius, on his first and only visit to Rome, had experienced a profound sense of awe at the sight of Rome's magnificent public buildings.[5] The emperor therefore had carefully deliberated upon what he might do to add to the city's adornments, and had sincerely hoped that the world's largest obelisk might be a fitting expression of his respect for the eternal city.

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In selecting the Circus Maximus as the only appropriate location for his gift the emperor symbolically embraced the classical values of ancient Rome; to consummate his act he celebrated public games which he allowed to last as long as the Roman people themselves desired.[6] This attitude of tolerance and broad-mindedness towards the Circus Maximus constituted a landmark in Christian and pagan relations. The transportation and erection of the obelisk involved considerable effort, as Ammianus Marcellinus recounts in his history.[7] In the sixteenth century the red granite obelisk (32.50 meters in height) was relocated in the Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano where it still stands.[8] The inscription from Constantius' original base in the Circus Maximus has been preserved; it reads:

PATRIS OPVS MVNVSQVE SUUM TIBI ROMA DICAVIT
AVGVSTVS TOTO CONSTANTIVS ORBE RECEPTO
ET QVOD NVLLA TVLIT TELLVS NEC VIDERAT AETAS
CONDIDIT VT CLARIS EXAEQUET DONA TRIVMFIS
HOC DECVS ORNATVM GENITOR COGNOMINIS VRBIS
ESSE VOLENS CAESA THEBIS DE RVPE REVELLIT

SED GRAVIOR DIVVM TANGEBAT CVRA VEHENDI
QVOD NVLLO INGENIO NISVQVE MANVQVE MOVERI
CAVCASEAM MOLEM DISCVRRENS FAMA MONEBAT
AT DOMINVS MVNDI CONSTANTIVS OMNIA FRETVS
CEDERE VIRTVTI TERRIS INCEDERE IVSSIT
HAVT PARTEM EXIGVAM MONTIS PONTOQ TVMENTI

CREDIDIT ET PLACIDO UEXERUNT AEQUORA FLUCTV
LITVS AD HESPERIVM TIBERI MIRANTE CARINAM
INTEREA ROMAM TAETRO VASTANTE TYRANNO
AVGVSTI IACVIT DONVM STVDIVMQVE LOCANDI
NON FASTV SPRETI SED QVOD NON CREDERET VLLVS
TANTAE MOLIS OPVS SVPERAS CONSVRGERE IN AVRAS

NVNC VELVTI RVRSVS RVFIS AVVLSA METALLIS
EMICVIT PVLSATQVE POLOS HAEC GLORIA DVDVM
AVCTORI SERVATA SVO CVM CAEDE TYRANNI
REDDITVR ATQVE ADITV ROMAE UIRTVTE REPERTO
VICTOR OVANS VRBIQUE LOCAT SUBLIME TROPAEVM
PRINCIPIS ET MVNVS CONDIGNIS USQVE TRIVMFIS [9]

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The vogue for Egyptian art which had been revived by Constantius' erection of the obelisk in the Circus Maximus apparently produced a new influx of Egyptian antiquities into Rome from Thebes, Memphis, Heliopolis, and Alexandria. A favorite exhibition hall of the day involved the Egyptian-style complex of buildings in the Horti Sallustiani, the public gardens on the Pincian hill near the Baths of Diocletian.[10] Some of Rome's finest Ptolemaic works of art have been found at this site, namely the three colossal red granite statues of Arsinoe II, her husband Ptolemy II Philadelphus, and an unidentified Ptolemaic princess. All three sculptures represent original Hellenistic creations of the third century B.C.[11] The statue of Arsinoe, measuring eight feet without the base, presents the queen in a transparent gown with a tripartite type of wig decorated with two uraei. The sculpture of her husband and brother Ptolemy has been clearly worked in the style of the late pharaonic period. His striped headcloth displays a single uraeus with coils on either side; the head of the uraeus has been lost. His face and torso lack individualization.

In their selection of the public thermae for special benefactions, the Christian rulers consciously singled out a distinctly Roman form of divertissement in order that they might thereby render honor to the eternal city. The public thermae, in the course of their development at Rome, had emerged as a unique civic resource in the ancient world, one that combined physical elegance and luxury with a multiplicity of functions

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unparalleled by its Greek predecessors. The desire to exalt the native cultural facilities of Rome involved the emperors in an artistic program that extended to almost all of the public baths; the evidence however is most complete for the Baths of Constantine and the Baths of Caracalla.[12]

Numerous works of art produced in the late empire have been preserved from the Baths of Constantine. The construction of these enormous thermae dragged on for many years, and represents the sponsorship of both Constantine and Constantius. Today our knowledge of the ground plans depends largely upon drawings made by Palladio and other architects in the seventeenth century.[13] An examination of these drawings and an analysis of the foundation walls preserved in the Renaissance palaces that now occupy the site establish that the Baths of Constantine covered an area almost equal to that of the Baths of Caracalla.[14] Like the latter complex, the central segment of the Baths of Constantine contained an immense circular laconicum with a lofty dome. The irregular design of the lateral sections of the baths may have resulted from Constantius' desire to enlarge the dimensions of the original Constantinian structure.

Among the outstanding works of art that embellished this complex may be mentioned the wall frescoes uncovered in the Rospigliosi palace which now occupies the former site of the south-western portion of the thermae. At the time of their discovery in the late seventeenth century the paintings remained in excellent condition; however now the frescoes have deteriorated

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to such a degree that it is necessary to rely completely upon eighteenth century drawings.[15] The frescoes employed a two-zone wall arrangement with the lower band utilizing a trompe-l'oeil design of massive exedrae with figures of statues mounted on heroic bases.[16] The upper zone, covering three-quarters of the wall space, displays a trompe-l'oeil scheme of dainty canopies, each containing the figure of a statue. Large rectangular arabesque panels and garlanded sections with small framed pictures link together the vaulted canopies. The artists have appropriately introduced a variety of athletes, dancers, and musicians as subjects for these statue figures and for the small inset paintings. According to the eighteenth century drawings, one of the canopies sheltered a statuesque figure of a young female dancer holding a large tambourine in her left hand and striking it with her right hand.[17] These same drawings indicate that the artists frequently employed victory scenes in the small framed paintings. One of these shows a nude athlete receiving the crown of victory and palm branch from a lady seated upon a large rock with her attendant standing nearby.[18]

Whereas the frescoes testify to Constantius' secular concerns for public entertainment and athletics, the sculptures from the baths provide new evidence for the public image which the emperor cultivated in Rome. The most interesting piece of sculpture consists of the bronze statue of Alexander the Great that came to light in 1884 near these baths.[19] The literary documents, such as the Itinerarium Alexandri, firmly establish

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Constantius' idealization of the Macedonian conqueror. For fifteen years out of his total reign of twenty-four years, Constantius engaged in military campaigns against the Sassanid empire, with the result that the emperor came to envision his eastern adventures as the military invasions of the new Alexander.[20] Late in his career and possibly during his visit to Rome in 357, Constantius ordered one of his court historians to compose in Latin the Itinerarium Alexandri. The preface to this small treatise deserves quotation:

> Dextrum admodum sciens et omini tibi et magisterio futurorum, DOMINE CONSTANTI, bonis melior imperator, si orso feliciter jam accinctoque Persicam expeditionem itinerarium principum eodem opere gloriosorum, Alexandri scilicet Magni Trajanique, componerem: libens sane et laboris cum amore succubui: quodque meum velle enimvero id exigit suspensioque, quodque regentium prospera in partem subditos vocant....
>
> Sed mihi hic et materiae parilitas blanda est et germanitas spei de te scripturo potiora tum Alexandri gloriis, tum Trajani, quibuscum tibi sane commune est fatalem hanc belli lineam tangere : quoniam aetas quoque alterius nunc penes te est, alterius vero consilium, quo vincis aetatem.
>
> Quippe Alexandro illi interim sic aequabere : magnus ille cognomine, tu vero maximi filius : eadem fere natus terrae sub parte, eodem atque ille ducis exercitum numero militum par, sed melior examine : eandem ulturus injuriam es, sed disparis contumeliae.
>
> Ex quo jure sane sit praesumendum, quod aequali omine militans pari potiare fortuna : hactenus socius exemplo, ceterum pro merito felicior. Siquidem deo praesidi acceptiora sunt vota quae fas et modestia concepit, quam quae efferis moribus inconsulta arrogantia rapit.
>
> Ille sibi soli vicisse gloriatus factusque in amicos saevior, quo felicior fructu victoriae, calluit ob id tumultuatos; saluti vero Romanae tu militans, ei mox imperio contendens aetate, cujus te gloriae inmortalitas comitabitur. Etenim ne tibi tantis ac talibus occupato ultra obloquar, hinc exordium faciam.[21]

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Alexander the Great appealed strongly to Constantius and his successors at Constantinople for reasons other than military considerations. For these Christian rulers of New Rome who sought an historical precedent to help justify the movement of the capital to Constantinople, Alexander's policies offered consolation in view of his emphasis on innovation, a fusion of cultures, and the use of Babylon as the capital. In the minds of these late antique emperors, Alexander's regime symbolized a period of radical changes for Greek civilization but one that successfully preserved the best features of Hellenic life, just as their own rule marked a new beginning for ancient society without a discarding of their cultural heritage.

The statue of Alexander from the Baths portrays the Macedonian conqueror in the pose of a nude athlete, with his left arm up-raised holding a lance, and his right foot placed slightly forward supporting the weight of his body. This bronze composition, now housed in the Museo Nazionale Romano, apparently copied an original work by Lysippus.[22] In keeping with his program of setting forth the theme of Alexander, the emperor Constantius made reference to this statue on the bronze medallions which he struck in Rome, for the emperor himself frequently appears on the medallions in a pose that imitated the statue.[23]

Other sculptures that adorned the Baths of Constantine attempted to link Constantius with Alexander in more subtle ways. The colossal statues of the reclining river gods--the Tigris and the Nile--symbolized the eastern frontier, the mutual scene of glory for Alexander and Constantius.[24] These two

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colossal marbles now can be found at the base of the grand staircase at the Palazzo Senatorio. Both date from the fourth century. The Nile, reclining on a small sphinx, supports a large cornucopia with his left hand. The Tigris holds a similar cornucopia; the small tiger which originally accompanied this river god has been replaced with a she-wolf.[25] The bodies of both river gods reveal the same heavily-muscled physique as the bronze statue of Alexander; this interest in mesomorphic structuring characterizes almost all of the sculptures and mosaics produced for the public buildings during the fourth century. This style undoubtedly originated in the imperial workshops which produced the famous colossal statues of the late antique emperors.[26]

The theme of the Dioscuri provided Constantius and his brother Constans a unique form of Alexandrine motifs that lent itself for use in an atmosphere of public entertainment. On one level of interpretation, the Dioscuri enjoyed a reputation for athletic ability: Castor for his skill in taming and managing horses, and Pollux for his talents in boxing. As a result the Dioscuri acted as traditional presidents of the public games throughout the Greco-Roman world. On a more sublime level these special heroes of Alexander symbolized justice and vigilance for all mankind--virtues that would hardly have escaped the attention of the Christian rulers. In the sixteenth century the colossal statues of the Dioscuri were removed from the grounds of the thermae and re-located in the Piazza del Quirinale where they still can be seen.[27] The sculptor presents the two

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powerfully-built brothers of Helen in the act of restraining their rearing stallions. Like the statue of Alexander, this composition apparently depends upon a creation by Lysippus. It is possible that these very sculptures gave rise to the depiction of the Dioscuri on the contorniati.[28]

In addition to bringing the Baths of Constantine to final completion, Constantius also commissioned numerous works of art for the Baths of Caracalla.[29] Here archaeologists have uncovered a spacious polychrome floor mosaic which the emperors Constans and Constantius together ordered for one of the large palaestrae in the complex.[30] The mosaic, now housed in the Lateran Museum, consisted of a symmetrical arrangement of square and rectangular panels each containing a single design or figure. The rectangular panels exhibit colossal nude athletes and trainers, while the square frames present portrait-busts of the professional athletes and an assortment of their equipment. The clarity of organization and the simplicity of the individual scenes permitted the artists to introduce a rich diversity of wrestlers, boxers, racers, javelin-throwers, and their corresponding supervisors without the overcrowding of figures so common in late imperial art. In view of the grandiose scale of the mosaic it is not surprising that the composition betrays the work of numerous artists of varying talents. One exceptionally admirable panel portrays a larger-than-life-size wrestler in a three-quarters profile viewed from the back.[31] He holds in his right hand a crown of victory and in his left a palm branch.

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Like most of the other athletes, his hair has been drawn back into a small knot. The mosaicist directs the focus of the panel upon the wrestler's superbly developed shoulders and back which he carefully shaded in order to create the effect of oiled flesh. Although the mosaic presents a very large number of athletes and trainers, the artists have faithfully individualized each one through their scrupulous concern for the details of the faces. Occasionally, the names of the individuals are included.[32]

Many of the sculptures, ivories, gems, and other decorative pieces that came to light in the Baths of Caracalla during the sixteenth century explorations there became part of the Farnese collection, which in subsequent years was transported to the Museo Nazionale in Naples. Two of these remarkable sculptures now in Naples help illuminate the artistic program of the Christian emperors: the Farnese Bull and the Farnese Hercules. Each composition, in its style and in its theme, reflects the late Roman revival of Hellenistic tastes which Constantius initiated at Rome through his Alexandrine pretensions. The so-called Farnese Bull resurrected a favorite Hellenistic theme of justice: the two brothers Amphion and Zethus tying the ill-fated Dirce to a wild bull.[33] This late imperial copy apparently drew its inspiration from the creation by Apollonios and Tauriskos, the sons of Artemidoros.[34] Like the legends of the Dioscuri, the myth of Amphion and Zethus lent itself for new interpretations under the Christian rule of Constantius and Constans. The dramatic act of personal justice and political

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triumph celebrated by the sculpture accords well with certain motifs employed by Constantius and Constans on their medallions: "Virtus," "Victoria," and "Spes."[35] The imperial patrons apparently made reference to this sculpture on their contorniati.[36] These memento pieces occasionally exhibit the figure of a man restraining the head of a bull; Amphion in the sculpture vigorously twists the bull's head as his brother attempts to fasten Dirce to a rope connected to the bull's horns.

Throughout the Hellenistic age the successors of Alexander expressed their political and cultural ties with the Macedonian conqueror by means of universally accepted symbols. Foremost among these ranked the figure of Hercules (Heracles) from whom Alexander claimed descent.[37] As a result the fourth century emperors adopted Hercules as one of their own devices to express their identity with the Alexandrine period. Several other aspects of Hercules also appealed to these Christian rulers, such as his reputation for "virtue." The Stoic and Cynic schools of philosophy had long held up this mythological hero as the ideal human being and as the exemplar of plain living, character, and involvement in society.[38] Moreover the adoption of Hercules would provide these Roman emperors with a convenient symbol to express their cultural links with their immediate predecessors who had used the titles of Herculius and Jovius from the time of Diocletian on.[39] The pagan associations with Hercules that had prompted Constantine to repudiate the use of this mythological hero appear to have actually attracted the later emperors as a

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means of further re-enforcing their cultural unity and cooperation with the pagan families of Rome.

The larger-than-life-size statue of the Farnese Hercules portrays a standing nude figure of the tired hero resting against his club.[40] The lion-skin, a key element in Alexandrine iconography, has been conspicuously draped over the hero's club. Like the statue of Alexander from the Baths of Constantine, the Hercules monument is characterized by its masterful command of abdominal modeling. Glycon of Athens who signed the marble statue may also have executed the bronze composition of Alexander for the two pieces reveal striking similarities in the working out of the muscles, in the positioning of the right hand behind the right hip, and in the shifting of the weight to the right side. As in the case of other civic sculptures, the contorniati seem to allude to this very statue; portraits of Hercules in the exact same stance as the marble composition can be seen on these souvenir tokens.[41]

The plethora of art objects housed in these thermae included in addition to the large scale sculptures, mosaics, and paintings in the great halls, a variety of special collections featuring gems, ivories, metalware, and illuminated manuscripts. Two late antique luxury articles, the ivory of the triumphant emperor and the Farnese cup, apparently belonged to one of these special collections. Both works constitute important documents for the political image projected by the Constantinopolitan emperors in Rome. The ivory depicts the emperor Constantius in

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the military guise of Alexander; the cameo celebrates the trade contacts of the empire with India which the military campaigns of the Christian emperors helped to preserve. The ivory, consisting of a single panel of a diptych, portrays the victorious Constantius returning from his Persian campaigns in the triumphal chariot of the Macedonian conqueror.[42] The four elephants shown pulling the chariot probably symbolize the vanquished armies of the Eastern monarchs, inasmuch as traditional Roman practice prescribed four white horses for a triumphus. A small chariot driver to the right of Constantius apparently depicts Alexander. The upper part of the ivory presents the spectators for the military processional. Winged messengers convey the "resurrected" Alexander through the parade; the Macedonian has returned to life to hail the triumphant Constantius. The unusual strip of small figures and animals stretching from the top of the ivory to the triumphal chariot of Constantius would represent the parade of captured beasts and slaves. Finally the portrait of a woman in the upper right hand corner undoubtedly symbolizes Olympias who is frequently coupled with Alexander on the contorniati.[43] This bizarre work of art may well have been commissioned for Constantius' "military" processional at Rome in 357 which Ammianus Marcellinus described.[44] At that time Constantius personally celebrated the Ludi Adiabenici (January 31) which he had instituted in A.D. 344, and the Ludi Persici (May 13-17) which had been ordered in A.D. 350.[45]

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Like the colossal monuments erected to the Tigris and the Nile at the Baths of Constantine, the Farnese cup extols the military control of the eastern frontiers; in this instance the gem cutter expresses his message through symbols of economic prosperity, the fruits of Egypt and India. In view of the exceptional demand for fine silks, spices, Indian pearls, and Egyptian jewels during the fourth century, the families of Rome must have considered this engraved bowl an opportunely timed masterpiece. The Farnese cup, now housed in Museo Nazionale in Naples, measures some twenty centimeters in diameter, making it one of the largest surviving glyptic creations from antiquity.[46] This circular concave bowl has been engraved on both sides. The exterior concave side exhibits a large frontal portrait of a young woman with wildly-flowing hair. Strange birds with the heads of snakes perch within her curls, while a necklace of cobra snakes encircles her disheveled locks. Iconographically, these exotic snakes identify the woman as the personification of India. The inner concave side involves a scene of eight figures. It apparently portrays a young mariner standing in the very center of the scene with two female figures on the far right who symbolize the lands of the East and the seated figure of the Nile on the far left with his consort reclining on a sphinx. The gem cutter has placed above the mariner's head two small wind figures who signify the monsoons, the principal means for the Romans of obtaining the luxuries of India. The bowl therefore pays tribute

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to the continuation under the Constantinopolitan emperors of trade contacts between Rome, Egypt, and India.

With the medallions each of the emperors concentrated upon the theme of Urbs Roma. The special series, represented by numerous bronze pieces and a few in gold, portrays on the obverse sides the individual portrait busts of the Christian rulers and on the reverse sides a seated figure of Roma.[47] The dedications on the reverse range from "Roma Beata," to "Roma Aeternae," "Urbs Roma," "Urbs Roma Beata" and "Gloria Romanorum." One especially outstanding medallion shows the emperor Valens wearing a double-strand diadem and chlamys fastened with a jeweled fibula.[48] The inscription reads "D N Valens Max Augustus." The reverse exhibits a seated frontal figure of Roma holding in her right hand a globe crowned by a small statuette of Victory and in her left hand a sceptre. The mint mark "Roma" can be easily read in the exergual space. The dedication consists of "Gloria Romanorum."

With their concentration on "Roma," the medallions in many respects summed up the entire secular program of the Christian emperors for the eternal city. The expressions "Urbs Roma," "Roma Beata," and "Roma Aeternae" perfectly embodied the rulers' profound reverence for the city's cultural facilities, a reverence that had prompted the array of gifts to the Circus Maximus, the Horti Sallustiani, and the public baths. For the Constantinopolitan emperors the group of Roma medallions served as an ideal emblem for their public works: a symbol that

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expressed their spiritual identity with all of Rome's earlier imperial patrons and one that conveyed their assurances of special honors for the old capital in the new Christian state.

The emperors' religious building program, the other facet of patronage to be examined in this chapter, owed much to the pagan projects of Augustus and the earlier emperors. Apart from their glorification of a new faith and their experimentation with classical forms of secular architecture, the imperially subsidized Christian churches reflected the traditional imperial concerns for personal glory, suitable public grandeur, and appropriate expressions of imperial authority. The construction and decoration of these eight basilicas represented the single most extensive building program to have occurred in Rome since the days of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211).[49] Rome's last important building campaign represents the labors of both Constantine and his fourth century successors: most churches had been initiated by Constantine and completed on a magnificent scale by the later emperors. The two most grandiose, Old St. Peter's and St. Paul's, will properly constitute the focus of the discussion.

The Constantinian plan for St. Peter's involved a five-aisled basilica with a lofty nave, and an immense transept terminating in a spacious apse in line with the nave.[50] On the chord of the apse stood the shrine, covered by a baldacchino which rested on four spiral columns. A vast colonnaded atrium attached to the facade of the nave served as a monumental

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entrance. At the time of Constantine's death, only the transept together with the apse, the shrine and the triumphal arch had been finished. Apparently for twenty years thereafter the church stood untouched until Constantius in 357 ordered the renewal of its construction and the continuation of the original design.[51] By 360 the nave had been brought to completion; the emperor celebrated this momentous occasion by adding a new apsidal mosaic with a dedicatory inscription announcing his achievement:

> "Iustitiae sedes fidei domus aula pudoris
> Haec est quam cernis, pietas quam possidet omnis;
> Quae patris et filii virtutibus inclyta gaudet
> Auctoremque suum genitoris laudibus aequat."[52]

With Constantius' death the following year, all work on the atrium came to an abrupt end; only after another interruption of some twenty years were efforts again made to finish St. Peter's. It appears that Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I deserve credit for the atrium and the final touches.[53]

As in all Constantinian churches, the interior decoration of St. Peter's utilized an overloaded style of ornamentation which concentrated upon multi-colored geometric mosaics for the floors and walls, and sumptuous marble columns, together with finely-wrought liturgical vessels of gold and silver.[54] According to the Liber pontificalis, the donations to the church included a gold cross weighing one hundred and fifty pounds for the top of the shrine; four gilt candelabra ten feet in height and each weighing three hundred pounds; thirty-two

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chandeliers for the nave each weighing ten pounds; and an altar overlaid with gold.[55] The original apse decoration, provided by Constantine, consisted of gold foil, presumably with a triple layer.[56] Constantius replaced this apsidal ornament with a mosaic of the traditio legis.[57] Today our knowledge of this mosaic depends solely upon drawings made before its destruction by Clement VIII in 1592.[58] The mosaic employed a three zone arrangement with the lowest band containing Constantius' dedicatory inscription, noted above. The middle zone of this apsidal decoration presented the Lamb of God flanked by twelve sheep. The uppermost and largest register contained a scene of Christ seated frontally on a throne with Peter and Paul on either side, and the canopy of Heaven above in the very crown of the apse.

At the same time that the emperors Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I completed the construction of St. Peter's, they also laid out the Porticus Maximae to serve as a grand processional route from the heart of the capital to the trans-Tibertine basilica.[59] The colonnaded walkway, which ran some two and a half miles, extended from the Theater of Balbus along one of the main avenues to the Pons Aelius, the principal bridge leading to the church.[60] On the southern side of the bridge, and thus as a terminus to the Porticus Maximae, the emperors erected a triumphal arch. The dedication on this monument read as follows:

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"IMPERATORES CAESARES DDD NNN GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS
ET THEOSODIUS PII FELICES SEMPER AUGG.
ARCUM AD CONCLUDENDUM OPUS OMNE PORTICUUM MAXIMARUM
AETERNI
NOMINIS SUI PECUNIA PROPRIA FIERI ORNARIQ IUSSERUNT."[61]

The success of these emperors in actually completing St. Peter's and providing it with a grand processional route may well have spurred them on to re-place the small Constantinian structure of St. Paul's outside-the-walls with a new magnificent basilica. In any event the construction work got underway only after Gratian's death in 383, for the official decree ordering a commencement of work was issued by Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius in 385.[62] In direct imitation of St. Peter's, the new church of St. Paul's employed a five-aisled basilica plan, with a continuous transept and a broad apse, and an atrium attached to the facade of the nave. For reasons which remain unclear, the architects altered the proportions of the transept so that it became shorter and deeper than St. Peter's; moreover the shrine was located immediately adjacent to the nave, below the altar. St. Paul's, like St. Peter's, received a theatrical décor and a host of precious vessels.[63] Through the centuries the basilica remained almost unchanged until the nineteenth century when a fire in 1823 completely leveled the structure except for its triumphal arch.

Since our knowledge today of these two major structures and the earlier Constantinian churches must depend solely on drawings and meager fragments, it becomes almost impossible fully

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to recapture their bold experimentation in form and decoration. Fortunately the mausoleum of Constantina provides an extant example of religious-oriented architecture that can be used to supplement the investigations of the imperially subsidized churches.[64] The mausoleum, built about 350, consists of a circular domed rotunda. The dome, with twelve clerestory windows, rests upon an arcade formed by twelve pairs of columns. The floor plan of the mausoleum thus involves a central circular chamber encircled by an ambulatory. The walls of this barrel-vaulted ambulatory contain fourteen small niches and one large bay which housed the porphyry sarcophagus of Constantina.[65] The resplendent mosaics of the ambulatory are preserved in situ; drawings exist for those of the dome, the niches, and the large bay.[66] The latter group apparently emphasized scenes from the Old and New Testaments. The mosaic panels in the ambulatory betray a secular spirit which may result from their having been the earliest to be made, before the Christian community at Rome had fully devised its own iconography. Of the five separate styles implemented in these mosaics the two most interesting involve the "asaroton floor pattern" and "the vineyard scene," both using a plethora of color on a whitish background. The asaroton design shows a variety of branches strewn about with wild birds, vases, amphorae, and sundry utensils intermixed.[67] Balance, clarity, and a masterful use of shading instill a truly classical quality to the traditional festive design. The vineyard scene on the

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other hand contains a central portrait of a young woman, perhaps Constantina herself, amid a tangle of vines within which small eroti are shown harvesting the grapes.[68] Along both sides of the rectangular panel the mosaicist has inserted two scenes of eroti conveying the harvest towards a shelter used by other eroti for crushing the delectable grapes.

By the end of the century St. Peter's and St. Paul's had emerged as the two largest and most impressive churches in all Christendom. In order to accommodate the thousands of pilgrims who visited these martyria annually (far more than those who traveled to the Holy Land) the dimensions of these basilicas had to exceed greatly the normal scale implemented for a community church, such as the Lateran or St. Sophia's. Through their sponsorship of these venerated shrines the Constantinoplitan emperors accomplished an important show of force, political as well as religious, which seriously disturbed the Christian community at Rome, particularly during the reign of the Arian Constantius. For the Christians at Rome the dangers inherent in the imperial program of ecclesiastical patronage crystallized during the 350's when this Arian ruler attempted to use his imperial resources to glorify the early Christian sites of the city. With the exception of Constantine, no fourth century emperor interfered more with the ecclesiastical affairs at Rome than did Constantius; he successfully exiled Liberius for three years for his refusal to recognize Arianism and simultaneously prepared St. Peter's for formal

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dedication by his self-appointed bishop of Rome, Felix.[69] In the end events forced a postponement of the dedication until Theodosius' reign. Yet the determination of Constantius to use St. Peter's as a means of celebrating his own imperial authority and, consequently the Arian cause, provoked such widespread reaction in Rome that in succeeding years the emperors dealt more tactfully with the Roman church. Thus in the imperial letter regarding the re-building of St. Paul's, the emperors explicitly requested the approval of the Christian community in Rome for their actions.[70] Nonetheless even sympathetically applied patronage on such a lavish scale proved too authoritative for the bishops of Rome, with the result that in the early fifth century the bishops embarked on an unparalleled papal building campaign. The principal exponent of this program, Sistus III, thus erected the new basilica of S. Maria Maggiore as a visible sign of papal resources.[71] Throughout the fourth century the Church at Rome remained too weak to contest seriously imperial patronage. With the political confusion of the fifth century the bishops of Rome received the opportunity to challenge the threatening developments of the previous century. In time the bishops of Rome imbued St. Peter's and St. Paul's with new papal associations in order to erase their original Caesaropapist character.

To conclude this chapter: in their promotion of Rome's cultural facilities and in their sponsorship of the Christian basilicas the Constantinopolitan emperors had actually exercised

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secular and religious leadership. The role of leadership in the civic projects proved to be a source of strength for their new Christian rule while the assertion of leadership in the ecclesiastical sphere brought about an unexpected popular resentment of imperial favors. In the religious realm the exercise of imperial auctoritas and the Caesaropapist subsidization of the basilicas caused the Christian community to view the emperors' lavishness with great suspicion and fear. The Christian community had received a new public image through the magnificence of the imperially-sponsored basilicas of St. Peter's and St. Paul's, but on terms that seemed truly ominous for the religious liberty of the Church at Rome. For the emperors themselves the basilicas represented crucial statements of imperial power that demonstrated to both pagans and Christians the political, economic, and artistic vigor of the new Constantinopolitan court.

In the public realm however their lavish patronage and their cultural guidance won for them the respect and gratitude of pagan and Christian citizens alike. The imperial attempt to link the new Christian rule with Rome's most venerated civic resources successfully appealed to the patricians who eagerly sought to maintain the cultural hegemony of the old capital. The senatorial families fully accepted the emperors' domination of the public projects and they regarded the imperial contributions as visible evidence of the rulers' determination to foster the cause of classical civilization in the eternal city.

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The nobles themselves participated in this public cause only in a very limited fashion, principally through the erection of commemorative statuary. By considering their family mansions and their art treasuries as their own special contributions to the cultural life of the old capital, the wealthy families could sincerely exalt the Constantinoplitan rulers as the special custodians of the public institutions of culture. In this way the nobles and the imperial patrons could work together in harmony for the cultural hegemony of the eternal city.

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NOTES FOR CHAPTER II

[1]Only seven truly major projects are recorded for the emperors from A.D. 235 to A.D. 312 (note the Aurelian Walls are excluded on the basis of their "military" nature).

A. A.D. 262: the construction of a triumphal arch by Gallienus.
Platner, Dictionary, p. 39.
Nash, Dictionary, vol. 1, pp. 115-117.

B. A.D. 273: the construction of the Temple of the Sun by Aurelian.
Platner, Dictionary, pp. 491-493.
Lugli, Fontes, vol. 4, p. 370.

C. A.D. 298-306: the construction of a thermae by Diocletian.
Platner, Dictionary, pp. 527-530.
Nash, Dictionary, vol. 2, pp. 448-453.

D. A.D. 303-304: the construction of a triumphal arch by Diocletian.
Platner, Dictionary, pp. 41-42.
Nash, Dictionary, vol. 1, pp. 120-125.

E. A.D. 306-312: the construction of the Temple of Divus Romulus by Maxentius.
Platner, Dictionary, p. 450.
Nash, Dictionary, vol. 2, pp. 268-271.

F. A.D. 306-312: the construction of the Basilica Nova by Maxentius; completed by Constantine.
Platner, Dictionary, pp. 76-78.
Nash, Dictionary, vol. 1, pp. 180-182.

G. A.D. 306-312: the construction of the Circus of Maxentius by Maxentius.
Middleton, Remains, vol. 2, p. 56.

[2]The emperor Theodosius in his letter to Ausonius clearly sets forth his ambitions of imitating the emperor Augustus in his patronage: Ausonius (ed. C. Schenkl, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, vol. 5, Berlin 1883) Epistula Theodosi Augusti:

> "Amor meus qui in te est et admiratio ingenii atque eruditionis tuae, quae multo maxima sunt, fecit, parens incundissime, ut morem principibus

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aliis solitum sequestrarem familiaremque sermonem autographum ad te transmitterem, postulans pro iure non equidem regio, sed illius privatae inter nos caritatis, ne fraudari me scriptorum tuorum lectione patiaris. quae olim mihi cognita et iam per tempus oblita rursum desidero. non solum ut quae sunt nota recolantur, sed etiam ut ea, quae fama celebri adiecta memorantur, accipiam. quae tu de promptuario scriniorum tuorum, qui me amas, libens imperties, secutus exempla anctorum optimorum, quibus par esse meruisti. qui Octaviano Augusto rerum potienti certatim opera sua tradebant, nullo fine in eius honorem multa condentes. qui illos haut sciam an aequaliter atque ego te admiratus sit: certe non amplius diligebat. vale parens."

The fourth century Constantinopolitan emperors made only five visits to the capital after A.D. 326; see for example O. Seeck, Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.: Vorarbeit zu einer Prosopographie der christlichen Kaiserzeit (Stuttgart 1919), p. 177 for Constantine's final visit to Rome in A.D. 326; p. 204 for Constantius' visit in 357; p. 248 for Gratian's visit in 376; p. 274 for Valentinian II's visit in 388; p. 275 for Theodosius I's visit from June 13 to August 18, 389; and p. 284 for his second visit in October of 394.

[3]The imperial portraits have been cited in the Catalogue for Rome at the end of the thesis. They have been omitted from the discussion on the grounds that they cannot be positively identified nor assigned an exact fourth century location within the city of Rome. Moreover the portraits as massed produced objects shed far less light on the motivations of imperial patronage than the sculptures and other works noted in the essay.

A number of restorations to the public buildings are known through inscriptions:

A. CIL, vol. 6, 1178: the Macellum Liviae restored by Valentinian I, Valens, and Gratian; dated 364-378.
B. CIL, vol. 6, 31417; an undetermined restoration (?) by Theodosius.
C. CIL, vol. 6, 3865: restoration of the Anio Novus; ca. 381.

The inscriptions and literary documents of the period confirm that public statuary continued to be erected by the emperors to political figures and outstanding literary artists:

A. Proaeresius the court orator was honored with a life-size statue by Constans: see Jones, Prosopography, p. 731.
B. The emperor Julian erected a public statue for Aurelius Victor the historian: see Jones, Prosopography, p. 960 (it presumably was erected at Rome and not Sirmium).

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C. Flavius Taurus was granted a statue by Theodosius (?); see Jones, Prosopography, p. 879.
D. CIL, vol. 6, 1721 records a statue for Flavius Eugenius.
E. CIL, vol. 6, 1764 records a statue for Saturninus Secundus Salustius.
F. CIL, vol. 6, 1727 documents a public statue for Flavius Peregrinus Saturninus.

[4]Nash, Dictionary, vol. 2, pp. 142-143, plate 862: Augustus had originally intended to bring this monument to Rome; Constantine initiated its actual transportation by having it brought from Thebes to Alexandria; to make room for its erection in the Circus Maximus, a smaller obelisk set up by Augustus, was moved to the east side of the spina during Constantine's reign; ca. 326; Lugli, Fontes, vol. 8, pp. 422-424: dated A.D. 357; Jordan, Topographie, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 132, note 60; Jones, Prosopography, p. 652: dates the erection of the obelisk to winter (with ?) of 357-358; Constantius' visit is dated April 28, 357 to May 29, 357; Middleton, Remains, vol. 2, pp. 44-45.

[5]Ammianus Marcellinus 16,10,1 -- 16,10,17.

[6]Ibid., 16, 10, 14.

The emperors emphasized the public games at Rome as a means of glorifying the cultural institutions of Rome. The Calendar of 354 contains a list of the public festivals. Although the fourth century emperors did not originate those games dedicated to Urbs Roma, they nonetheless integrated these ludi into their overall program.

Mommsen published the fasti contained in the Calendar of 354 in CIL, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Berlin 1893), pp. 254-279, with a commentary on pp. 305-339.

For bibliography on the late imperial games at Rome, begin with Stern, Le Calendrier de 354, pp. 70-116; P. Habel, "Ludi publici," R-E Supplement, part 5, cols. 608-630; J. Toutain, "Ludi publici," DS, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 1362-1379; J. M. C. Toynbee, "Book Review: Andreas Alföldi, Die Kontorniaten" JRS 35 (1945), pp. 115-121; G. Traversari, Gli spettacoli in acqua nel teatro tardo-antico (Roma 1960); Consult also Alföldi, Kontorniaten (full citation note one, chapter one) pp. 118-127, but Alföldi's studies of the public exhibitions are too extreme in their emphasis on the pagan religious character of the festivals.

The Codex Theodosianus (edited T. Mommsen and Paul M. Meyer Berlin, 1905) contains a wealth of information on the public exhibitions at Rome in the fourth century. The following edicts provide a useful introduction:

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6,4,4; dated June 28, 339:

"[IDEM A. AD] MECILIVM HILARIANVM P(RAEFECTVM) P(RAETORI)O. Omnes clarissimi, qui [per di]oecesim sublimitatis tuae degunt, nostri auctori[tat]e praecepti ad urbem Romam venire cum inpensis, [qua]s ludi scaenicorum vel circensium vel muneris ra[ti]o poscit, cogantur. ET CETERA. DAT. IIII KAL. IVL. CONSTANTIO [II A.] ET CONSTANTE CONSS."

6,4,5; dated September 9, 340:

"[IDEM] A. AD SENATVM. Primae praeturae, quae Flaviali nuncupatione signatur, viginti et quinque milium follium et quinquaginta librarum argenti erogationem sumptusque praescribsimus. In secunda vero Constantiniana viginti milia follium et quadraginta libras argenti largiendas esse censemus. Tertia triumphalis quindecim milia follium ac triginta argenti libras sine inconmodo editoris expendat. DAT. V ID. SEPT. ANTIOCHIAE POST CONS. CONSTANTII II ET CONSTANTIS."

6,4,7; dated March 14, 354 (?):

"IDEM A. AD ORFITVM P(RAEFECTVM) V(RBI). Litteris ad Hilarianum p(raefectum) p(raetori)o dest[ina]tis praecepimus senatores ad urbem Romam veni[re] conpelli, ut muneribus iniunctis operam possint pra[esta]re sollemnem et professionem edere conpella[ntur]; eos autem editores, qui tempore praestituto praese[ntes] esse neglexerint, iuxta leges venerabiles divi [Constantini] qui[n]quagena milia modiorum tritici urbis Romae h[orre]is inferre conpelli. DAT. PRID. ID. MART. CONSTANT[IO A] VI ET CONSTANTIO CAES. II CONSS."

6,4,13; dated May 3, 361:

"IDEM A. AD SENATVM. Ex quinque praetoribus, qui sollem[niter] designati editionem celebrare consuerunt, tr[es nu]mero editionis necessitati et populi voluptatibus [operam] dent, duo vero argentum inferant eiusdem urbis [fabri]cis provida ratione profuturum. Namque Constan[tini]ana, quae prior est, ita deputari fabricis deb[et, ut mille] libras argenti praetor expendat; Flavialis vero, [quae] tertia est, quingentas operibus eiusdem urbis exh[ibeat.] Quod si qui ex his, qui praetores fuerint designa[ti, ad e]ditionem subeundam venire non potuerint v[el ae]tate vel aegritudine retardati, cum pondere, [sicut] nobis moderantibus conditum est, ad officium [prae]fecti urbi procuratorem debebunt ilico dest[inare], scilicet ut sub eius praesentia opus, quod ex e[o ponde]re coeptum fuerit, construatur, hac pollicita[tione] dumtaxat, ut eidem operi ex eius nomine titu[lus in]scribatur.

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ſn potestate censualium denomin[at]io n[on] sit, sed ante decennium legitimo senatus consulto pr[ae]tores designati editionem praeturasque ipsas senatus arbitrio sortiantur, ita ut, si conventi iidem venire neglexerint, dimidium plus, quam quanti sumptuum necessitas postulat, vel in argento vel in ipsis pigneribus ad praefecti urbi officium destinetur: quod quıdem pondus operibus publicis debebit adscribi sine ulla conmendatione atque inscribtione eıus nominis, qui officıa dignitatis per contumaciam detrectarit. Quod si ındices, qui praef(ecti) urbi fuerint ınscribtione conventi, rem segnius exsecuntur et nequaquam aut ıpsos ad urbem aut pignera destınarint, per singulos praetores ıpsi ıudices denas aurı libras, officıa vero eorum quınas dena[s / infe]rre debebunt, ıta ut exerto vigore praefecti urbi[s nos]trae aurı pondus exactum operibus faciat manci[parı.] Nec ulla protrahendi sıt causa, cum in tantum prae[fec]turae urbi dignıtatem auctam esse velımus, ut haec con[de]mnatio ob segnıtıem conventionis inflicta missis [ab] eodem praefecto urbı officialibus debeat postulari. [Q]uod sı qui forte vicarıa potestate perfunctı praeturam [h]inc acceptam ferri student, statutum pondus argentı [v]iribus ınferre nostrae urbis adigantur, videlıcet ut tan[tu]m inferant, quantum eos praetores ınferre iussimus, [qui] edıtionıs necessitate cessante argentum fabrıca[rum] contemplatione praebiturı sunt. DAT. V NON. MAL [GYF]YRAE TAVRO ET FLORENTIO CONSS."

6,4,21; dated August 22, 372:

"IMPPP. VAL(ENTINI)ANVS, VALENS ET GRA(TIA)NVS AAA. AD BAPPONEM P(RAEFECTVM) V(RBI). Tempore, quo temonarii designantur, etiam so***** nomınatio celebretur fiatque conventio, quam [per of]ficiales p(raefecti) u(rbı) curari oportet, ut, sı ita res expetıt, [omıssis of]fıcıis provinciarum ad pervestigandum fide[liore possis] utı quam commodato. Ipsi potissimum super [de]signatorum nomınibus consulamur, quo mıssis [viris] strenuıs oblıgatisque iudicıbus non modo temona[rii], verum conplices quoque eorum in exhibitıonem p[ro]prii muneris urgueantur. Fingamus enim pos[se] fieri, ut designatı primo et secundo vel tertıo an[no] subterfugere ınquırentium sollicıtudinem po[ssint]; certe septem reliquis haut dubie poterunt rep[periri]. Denique, ut prıus statuimus, eorum, qui per ann[os sin]gulos ad candidatum atque honores certos no[minan]tur, in scıentiam nostram post designatıon[em de]bitam insinuatione fida vocabula deferant[ur. Idem] et in subrogandis certis quibus in diem

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functor[um lo]cum ordo teneatur. Et licentia inolita derogetur [of]ficiis, quae ex denuntiatione huiusmodi quaestum saepe secuta sunt. Simul provinciales nostri aut animentur spe levioris inpensae, aut certe, si editionis suae tempore communem patriam declinarint, metu congruae severitudinis urgueantur. Nec sane excipimus eos, quos ad praesens labor publicus officiumve detentat, providentia secutura, ut aut conventi a nobis in vicem propriam idoneos dirigant, aut ipsi, quia res exigit, sumpto temporarie conmeatu Romam ire deproperent. Super provisione autem senatus egregii atque consulto, quo definiri a nobis reverentissime depoposcit, ut duo vel tres de his, qui nominantur candidati arcae, possint i[n] certo argenti pondere sociari, tunc melius aesti[ma]re poterimus, cum duos folles aut quattuor aut certe [am]plius in professionem habebunt, quid sustinere in mu[ne]ribus possint aut debeant quive editionis ordo sit. Cum enim [sed]ulo fuerit intimatum, conlata a nobis editionis neces[si]tate cum subsidiis facultatum et professionis modo ri[te] poterit definiri, quid unusquisque expensae pro captu virium [deb]eat sustinere. Sane eorum arbitrio nulla lege praescrib-[sim]us, qui pro consideratione patrimonii nataliumque me[ri]to secundum splendorem honoris proprii enormita[te]m inpendii non recusant. His enim providendum nos [hac] oratione censemus, qui non solum admonendi sunt, [ne] muneri suo desint, verum praescribtorum sumptuum [v]ilitate ac moderatione provocandi. DAT. XI KAL. SEPT. [NA]SONACI MODESTO ET ARINTHEO CONSS."

15,5,1; dated April 25, 372:

"IMPPP. VAL(ENTINI)ANVS, VALENS ET GR(ATI)ANVS AAA. AD PROBVM P(RAEFECTVM) P(RAETORI)O. Magistratus et sacerdotiorum editiones, quae aut in civitatibus aut certe in his debent exigi, quas delegit antiquitas, non in potestate iudicum sint, qui plerumque, dum popularem plausum alienis spoliationibus aucupantur, ea, quae in conpetenti loco sollers diligentia praeparavit, ad alteram urbem transferri praecipiunt, sed in eorum arbitrio maneant, quorum expensis ac sumptibus procurandae sunt. DAT. VII KAL. MAI TREV(IRIS) MODESTO ET ARINTHAEO CONSS."

15,5,2; dated May 20, 392-395:

"IMPPP. GR(ATI)ANVS, VAL(ENTINI)ANVS ET THEOD(OSIVS) AAA. RVFINO P(RAEFECTVM) P(RAETORI)O. Nullus omnino iudicum aut theatralibus ludis aut circensium certaminibus aut ferarum cursibus vacet nisi illis tantum diebus, quibus vel in lucem editi vel imperii sumus sceptra sortiti, hisque ut ante meridiem

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tantum sollemnitati pareant, post epulas vero ad spectaculum redire desistant. In quo tamen omnes, sive iudices sive privati, nihil penitus auri praemio dandum esse cognoscent, quod solis licet consulibus, quibus erogandi moderationem vitae meritis permisimus. Illud etiam praemonemus, ne quis in legem nostram, quam dudum tulimus, committat, nullum solis die populo spectaculum praebeat, nec divinam venerationem confecta sollemnitate confundat. DAT. XIII KAL. IVN. HERACLEAE HONOR(IO) NOB. P. ET EVOD(IO) V. C. CONSS."

15,7,6; dated April (?) 24, 381:

"IDEM AAA. AD VALERIANVM P(RAEFECTVM) V(RBI). Equos, quos ad sollemne certamen vel mansuetudinis nostrae largitio subministrat vel diversorum ex amplissimo ordine magistratuum, hactenus ad copiam providendos serenitas nostra decrevit, ut, quidquid illud est, quod palmarum numero gloriosum et celebratis utrimque victoriis nobile congregatur, spectaculis potius urbanae plebis inserviat quam praedae adque compendio deputetur. Quisquis igitur ex eo, quod vel serenitas nostra vel ordinarii consules vel praetores in huiuscemodi tribuunt voluptates, quamlibet commodis conpendioque privato derivandam duxerit esse iacturam, unius auri librae. condemnatione multatus largitionibus nostris cogatur esse munificus. DAT. VIII KAL. MAI. TREV(IRIS) EVCHERIO ET SYAGRIO CONSS."

15,7,10; dated June 24, 385:

"IDEM AAA. CYNEGIO P(RAEFECTO) P(RAETORI)O. Fidicinam nulli liceat vel emere vel docere vel vendere vel convivis aut spectaculis adhibere. Nec cuiquam ad delectationis desiderium erudita feminea musicae artis studio liceat habere mancipia. DAT. VIII KAL. IVL. CONST(ANTINO)P(OLI) ARCAD(IO) A. I ET BAVTONE V. C. CONSS."

15,10,1; dated January 1, 371:

"IMPPP. VAL(ENTINI)ANVS, VALENS ET GR(ATI)ANVS AAA. AD AMPELIVM P(RAEFECTVM) V(RBI). Palmatis adque Hermogenis equis, quos in curulis certaminis sorte vel contentionis incertum vel annorum series vel diversa ratio debiles fecit, ex horreis fiscalibus alimoniam praeberi decrevimus, equos vero Hispani sanguinis vendendi solitam factionariis copiam non negamus. Illud quoque sinceritas tua praecipiat observari, ne Graecorum equorum nomina, qui hinc missi fuerint, commutentur. DAT. KAL. IAN. GRATIANO A. II ET PROBO CONSS."

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15,12,2; dated October 17, 357:

"IMP. CONSTANTIVS A. ET IVLIANVS C. AD ORFITVM P(RAEFECTVM) V(RBI). Universi, qui in urbe Roma gladiatorium munus impendunt, prohibitum esse cognoscant sollicitandi auctorando milites vel eos, qui palatina sunt praediti dignitate, sex auri librarum multa inminente, si quis contra temptaverit. Sponte etiam ad munerarium adeuntes per officium sublimitatis tuae ad magistros equitum ac peditum aut eos, qui gubernant officia palatina, oneratos ferreis vinculis mitti conveniet, ut huius legis statuto palatii dignitas a gladiatorio detestando nomine vindicetur. DAT. XVI KAL. NOV. CONSTANTIO A. VIIII ET IVLIANO CAES. II CONSS."

The continued interest of late Roman society in music and entertainment can be seen in Εἰσαγωγὴ τέχνης μουσικῆς by Geron Baccheius who was a contemporary of Constantine the Great; see Von Jan "Bakcheios Geron," R-E, vol. 2, 2790-2792.

Note Ausonius' short poem on the Roman festivals: Ausonius, De Feriis Romanis, Eglogarum Liber V, 16 (quoted in full):

Nunc et Apollineos Tiberina per ostia ludos
et Megalesiacae matris operta loquar
Vulcanique dies, autumni exordia primi.
Quinquatrusque deae Pallados expediam
et medias idus Mai Augustique recursu,
quas sibi Mercurius quasque Diana dicat:
matronae quae sacra colant pro laude virorum.
Mavortis primi cum rediere dies.
festa Caprotinis memorabo celebria nonis,
cum stola matronis dempta tegit famulas:
quattuor illa etiam discretis partibus anni
solstitia et luces nocte dieque pares.
nec Regifugium pulsis ex urbe tyrannis
laetum Romanis fas reticere diem.
visne Opis ante sacrum vel Saturnalia dicam
festaque servorum, cum famulantur eri.
et numquam certis redeuntia festa diebus.
compita per vicos cum sua quisque colit,
aut duplicem cultum, quem Neptunalia dicunt
et quem de Conso consiliisque vocant?
festa haec, navigiis aut quae celebrata quadrigis,
iungunt Romanos finitimosque duces?
adiciam cultus peregrinaque sacra deorum,
natalem Herculeum vel ratis Isiacae:
nec non lascivi Floralia lacta theatri,
quae spectare volunt, qui voluisse negant.
nunc etiam veteres celebrantur Equirria ludi:
prima haec Romanus nomina circus habet.
et Dionysiacos Latio cognomine ludos
Roma colit, Liber, quae tibi vota dicat.

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aediles etiam plebi aedilesque curules
sacra sigillorum nomine dicta colunt.
et gladiatores funebria proelia notum
decertasse foro: nunc sibi harena suos
vindicat, extremo qui iam sub fine Decembris
falcigerum placant sanguine Caeligenam.

[7]Ammianus Marcellinus 17,4,1 -- 17,4,23.

[8]Nash, Dictionary, vol. 2, p. 142; see also vol. 2, p. 32 for the interesting mosaic of the Circus Maximum with a depiction of this obelisk in the center; the mosaic was found at Piazza Armerina in Sicily in a villa which probably belonged to a fourth century aristocrat.

[9]CIL, vol. 6, 1163.

The emperors apparently distributed at the games small round tokens called contorniati which portrayed a variety of themes related to their artistic program. The reverse sides of the contorniati focus on Rome and her cultural achievements. They emphasize the "Roma motif" found on the medallions. There appear the legends and mythology relating to Rome's early history, with figures of the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, Aeneas and Anchises, and the rape of the Sabine women. There appear famous historical men, particularly the early emperors. And there appear scenes of Rome's public games; most frequently scenes of chariot races in the Circus Maximus, quadrigae, venatio scenes, horses, horse riders, flute players, various types of athletes, organ players, and theater masks. Also outstanding literary figures are found on the contorniati.

The emperors utilized the obverse sides for literary, historical, and mythological figures which served to link the new Christian rule with classical civilization. Thus they balanced the legends of Rome's early history with figures from the Trojan cycle: Homer, and various characters from the Iliad and Odyssey. The most important Homeric motif involved the Dioscuri.

They also employed Alexander the Great and Hercules (Heracles). Occasionally they introduced themes associated with the eastern frontier, such as exotic snakes. Also references to Egypt: Antinous, Hadrian's favorite who drowned in the Nile, and Serapis.

The following references provide documentary evidence for the above essay on the contorniati. Although Alföldi's ideas can no longer stand unchallenged, his catalogue remains fundamental and it will thus be used for the following citations:

A. For the she-wolf see Alföldi, Kontorniaten, Katalog #28, 209, etc.
B. Aeneas: Ibid., Katalog #274, 277, etc.
C. Sabine women: Ibid., Katalog #47, 147, 149, 294, etc.

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D. Roma: Ibid., Katalog #338, 339, etc.
E. Series of the emperors: Ibid., Katalog #87-97 on Augustus; #98-186 on Nero; #191-196 on Vespasian; #197-290 on Trajan, etc.
F. Chariot races in the Circus Maximus: Ibid., Katalog #19, 20, 26, 32, 132, 170, 171, 254, 260, 279, etc. (note the obelisk shown in the center of the Circus).
G. quadrigae: Ibid., Katalog, #63, 68, 86, 96, 108, 109, 120, 261, 270, etc.
H. venatio scenes: Ibid., Katalog #93, 94, 138, etc.
I. horse drivers and charioteers: Ibid., Katalog, #155, 340-371.
J. athletes: Ibid., Katalog #181, 275, 344, 366, etc.
K. flute-players: Ibid., Katalog #208, 275, etc.
L. organ players: Ibid., Katalog #165-166, etc.
M. theater masks: Ibid., Katalog #54.
N. literary figures: Ibid., Katalog #72 (Horace) #75 (Terence) #79 (Apuleius) etc.
O. Homer: Ibid., Katalog #59-69.
P. Achilles: Ibid., Katalog #225, 233, 259, 296, etc.
Q. Hector and Andromache: Ibid., Katalog #89, 245, etc.
R. the Dioscuri: Ibid., Katalog #8, 43, 83, 104, 203, 214, 303, 341, etc.
S. Alexander the Great: Ibid., Katalog #1-48, 441-452, etc.
T. Olympias, Alexander's mother: Ibid., Katalog, #1-3, etc.
U. Hercules: Ibid., Katalog #11, 38, 44, 50, 53, 124, 215, 224, 230, 336, 339, 378, etc.
V. exotic snakes: Ibid., Katalog #144, 255, 412, 488, etc.
W. Antinous: Ibid., Katalog, #331-333.
X. Serapis: Ibid., Katalog #334.

The best introduction for criticisms against Alföldi is Toynbee, JRS 35 (1945) pp. 115-121. Her article concentrates on four points. She maintains (1) that Alföldi does not present definitive evidence that the contorniati were anti-Christian; (2) that no proof is given for his association of the contorniati with the aristocrats; (3) that contrary to Alföldi's statements there actually appear only two pagan deities, Dea Roma and Serapis; (4) that the contorniati cannot be firmly dated despite Alföldi's contention that they began ca. 350.

[10]For a discussion of the history and excavations of the gardens see Platner, Dictionary, pp. 271-272; Nash, Dictionary, vol. 1, pp. 491-499; Lanciani, Ruins, pp. 413-419; Middleton, Remains, vol. 2, pp. 241-248, the waterpipe stamp from the reign of Valentinian is cited by LaBranche, Public Architecture, p. 181.

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An obelisk of Roman manufacture was found in the gardens; Nash, Dictionary, vol. 2, pp. 144-147; and Lugli, Fontes, vol. 4, pp. 296-302, esp. p. 300 where Lugli dates the erection of the monument as sometime between Augustus and Constantius' visit in 357.

[11]For the three statues see Helbig, Führer, vol. 1, #482 a-c; "a" identified as Arsinoe II, and dated ca. 270 B.C.; "b" identified as Philotera (?) daughter of Ptolemy I; "c" identified as Ptolemy II Philadelphos (285-296 B.C.); for photograph of the bust of Ptolemy II see Encyclopedia of World Art, vol. 4, plate 390 where it is dated ca. 260 B.C.

Ammianus Marcellinus entertained his audience at Rome with ethnographical excursuses on Persia (23,6,1 - 23,6,84), India (23,6,33 and 23,6,64), and Egypt (22,16,1 - 22,16,24).

Note his discussion of the Persian mode of dress and his fascination with the Eastern gems, particularly the pearl: 23,6,84 - 23,6,88:

> "84. indumentis plerique eorum ita operiuntur lumine colorum fulgentibus uario, ut (licet sinus lateraque dissuta relinquant flatibus agitari ventorum,) inter calceos tamen et uerticem nihil uideatur intectum. armillis uti monilibusque aureis, et gemmis, praecipue margaritis, quibus abundant, adsuefacti post Lydiam victam et Croesum.
>
> 85. Restat ut super ortu lapidis huius, pauca succinctius explicentur. apud Indos et Persas, margaritae repperiuntur in testis marinis robustis et candidis, permixtione roris anni tempore praestituto, conceptae. cupientes enim uelut coitum quendam, humores ex lunari aspergine capiunt, densius oscitando. exindeque granidulae, edunt minutas binas aut ternas, uel uniones, ideo sic appellatas, quod euisceratae conchulae singulas aliquotiens pariunt, sed maiores. 86. idque indicium est aetheria potius deriuatione, quam saginis pelagi hos oriri fetus et uesci, quod guttae matutini roris isdem infusae, claros efficiunt lapillos et teretes, vespertini vero flexuosos contra et rutilos, et maculosos interdum. minima autem uel magna pro qualitate haustuum figurantur, casibus uariatis. conclusae uero saepissime metu fulgurum inanescunt, aut debilia pariunt, aut certe uitiis diffluunt abortiuis. 87. capturas autem difficiles et periculosas, et amplitudines pretiorum illa efficit ratio, quod frequentari sueta litora propter piscantium insidias declinantes, ut

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quidam coniciunt, circa deuios scopulos, et marinorum canum receptacula delitiscunt. 88. quod genus gemmae etiam in Brittanici secessibus maris gigni legique, (licet dignitate dispari) non ignoramus."

Ammianus also included a special "travelogue" on Alexandria (22,16,7 - 22,16,22) which was designed to appeal to the "Hellenistic" tastes of his audience.

"7. Alexandria enim uertex omnium est ciutatum, quam multa nobilitant et magnifica, conditoris altissimi, et architecti sollertia Dinocratis, qui cum ampla moenia fundaret et pulchra, paenuria calcis ad momentum parum repertae, omnes ambitus liniales farina respersit, quod ciuitatem post haec alimentorum uberi copia circumfluere fortuito monstrauit. 8. inibi aurae salubriter spirant, et aer est tranquillus et clemens, atque ut periculum docuit, per uarias collectum aetates, nullo paene die incolentes hanc ciuitatem solem serenum non uident. 9. hoc litus cum fallacibus et insidiosis accessibus adfligeret antehac nauigantes discriminibus plurimis, excogitauit in portu Cleopatra turrim excelsam, quae Faros a loco ipso cognominatur, praelucendi nauibus nocturna suggerens ministeria, cum quodam ex Parthenio pelago uenientes uel Libyco, per pandas oras et patulas, montium nullas speculas nel collium signa cernentes, harenarum inlisae glutinosae mollitiae frangerentur. 10. haec eadem regina heptastadium sicut vix credenda celeritate, ita magnitudine mira construxit, ob causam notam et necessariam. insula Faros, ubi Protea cum focarum gregibus diuersatum, Homerus fabulatur inflatius, a ciuitatis litore mille passibus disparta, Rhodiorum erat obnoxia uectigali. 11. quod cum inde quidam nimium quantum petituri uenissent, femina callida semper in fraudes, sollemnium specie feriarum, isdem publicanis secum ad suburbana perductis, opus iusserat inrequietis laboribus consummari, et septem diebus totidem stadia molibus iactis in mari solo propinquante, terrae sunt undicata; equoque cum uehiculo ingressa . . . . erat, Rhodios insularum non continentis portorium flagitantes.

12. His accedunt altis sufflata fastigiis templa, inter quae eminet Serapeum, quod licet minuatur exilitate uerborum, atriis tamen columnatis amplissimis, et spirantibus signorum figmentis, et reliqua operum multitudine ita est exornatum, ut post Capitolium, quo se uenerabilis Roma in aeternum adtollit, nihil orbis terrarum

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ambitiosiꝰs cernat. 13. in quo duo bybliothecae fuerunt inaestimabiles: et loquitur monumentorum ueterum concinens fides, septingenta uoluminum milia, Ptolomaeıs regibus uigiliis intentis composita, bello Alexandrino, dum diripitur ciuitas, sub dictatore Caesare conflagrasse.

14. Canopus inde duodecimo disiungitur lapide, quem (ut priscae memorıae tradunt), Menelai gubernator sepultus ibi cognominauit. amoenus ınpendio locus, et diuersorıis laetis extructus, auris et salutari temperamento perflabilıs, ita ut extra mundum nostrum morari se quisquam arbitretur, in illis tractibus agens, cum saepe aprico spiritu inmurmurantes audierit uentos.

15. Sed Alexandria ipsa non sensım (ut aliae urbes,) sed inter ınıtia prima aucta per spatiosos ambıtus ınternisque seditionıbus diu aspere fatigata, ad ultımum multıs post annıs, Aureliano imperium agente, ciuilibus iurgiis ad certamına internıcıua prolapsis, dirutısque moenıbus, amisit regıonum maximam partem, quae Bruchion appellabatur, diuturnum praestantıum hominum domıcilium. 16. unde Aristarchus grammaticae reı dumıs excellens, et Herodıanus artium minutissımus sciscitator, et Saccas Ammonius Plotinı magıster, alıique plurımi scriptores multorum in lıtteris nobilıum studiorum, inter quos Chalcenterus emınuıt Didymus, multiplicis scientiae copıa memorabılıs, quı ın illis sex libris, ubi non numquam inperfecte Tullıum reprehendıt, sillografos ımitatus, [scriptores maledicos,] ıudicio doctarum aurıum ıncusatur, ut inmanıa frementem leonem, trepidulıs uocıbus canıs catulus longius circumlatrans. 17. et quamquam ueteres cum his quorum memini floruere conplures, tamen ne nunc quidem ın eadem urbe doctrınae uariae silent; nam et disciplınarum magistri quodam modo spirant, et nudatur ibı geometrico radio, quıdquid reconditum latet, nondumque apud eos penitus exaruıt musıca, nec harmonia conticuit, et recalet apud quosdam adhuc (licet raros,) consideratıo mundani motus et siderum, doctıque sunt alii numeros; pauci super hıs scientiam callent, quae fatorum uias ostendit. 18. medicinae autem -- cuius in hac uita nostra nec parca nec sobria, desıderantur adminicula crebra, -- ita studıa augentur ın dıes, ut (licet opus ipsum redoleat,) pro omnı tamen experimento sufficiat medico ad commendandam artis auctoritatem, Alexandriae si se dıxerıt eruditum. et haec quidem hactenus. 19. sed si intellegendi diuıni

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editionem multiplicem, et praesensionum originem, mente uegeta quisquam uoluerit replicata, per mundum omnem inueniet, mathemata huius modi ab Aegypto circumlata, 20. ubi primum homines longe ante alios ad uaria religionum incunabula (ut dicitur) peruenerunt, et initia prima sacrorum caute tuentur, condita scriptis arcanis. 21. hac institutus prudentia Pythagoras colens secretius deos, quicquid dixit aut uoluit, auctoritatem esse instituit ratam, et femur suum aureum apud Olympiam saepe monstrabat, et cum aquila conloquens subinde uisebatur. 22. hinc Anaxagoras lapides e caelo lapsuros, et putealem limum contrectans, tremores futuros praedixerat terrae. et Solon sententiis adiutus Aegypti sacerdotum, latis iusto moderamine legibus, Romano quoque iuri maximum addidit firmamentum. ex his fontibus per sublimia gradiens, sermonum amplitudine Iouis aemulus Platon, visa Aegypto militauit sapientia gloriosa."

Also consult the late Roman travel guide by Dionysius Periegetes, Περιήγησις τῆς οἰκουμένης (edited Godofredus Bernhardy, Leipzig 1828 2 vols.), esp. 799-1185 on Egypt, Persia, and India; the work seems to have been composed in the early fourth century.

[12]A. On the statues found in the Baths of Titus see Middleton, Remains, vol. 2, pp. 156-157; Lanciani, Ruins, pp. 363-365, and p. 367; Nash, Dictionary, vol. 2, pp. 469-471; Jordan, Topographie, vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 307-311; Platner, Dictionary, pp. 533-534; Lugli, Fontes, vol. 3, pp. 192-195.

Two inscribed statue bases for athletes have been found near the Baths of Titus.

(1) CIL, vol. 6, 10153 reads:

IWANHC ΠΑΛΑΙCΤΗC CMYPNAIOC
ΑΠΤΩΤΟC
OB FORTITVDINIS MERITA ET
VIRTVTIS CV MVLVM HOC QVOD
EXCELLENS ARTIS ROBVR EXEGIT
PRAECEPTO INVICTISSIMORVM PRIN_
CIPVM DDD NNN FFF LLL VALENTI
NIANI THEODOSII ET ARCADII
IOHANNES MERVIT VT INTER OMNIS
POLLENS LOCATIONE STATVAE VIDEATVR

(2) CIL, vol. 6, 10154 reads:

FILVMENVM
DDD · ET PRINCIPES N · VALENTINIAN
VALENS · ET GRATIANVS · SEMP ·
AVGG FILVMENVM IN OMNI ACLHETICO
CERTAMINE ·AB ORIENTE AD

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OCCIDENTE·VSQ VICTOREM · PAMMACHO
LVCTA PRANCATI CESTIBVSQ·ID
EST·PYGME LOCATIONE STATVAE IN
ACLETARVM CVRIA AETERNITATIS
GLORIA DIGNVM ESSE IVDICARVNT
QVOD OMNES XYSTICI GRATANTER
ACCEPERVNT · SEN · PARITER
SIMVLQ P R INGENTI FABORE
PROSECVTVS EST.

B. For evidence of fourth century activity at the Baths of Trajan see CIL, vol. 6, 1670; Platner, Dictionary, pp. 534-536; Lugli, Fontes, vol. 3, pp. 195-198, esp. p. 198 where the above inscription is dated fourth or fifth century; Middleton, Remains, vol. 2, pp. 157-158; Nash, Dictionary, vol. 2, pp. 472-477.

C. For the brick stamp of Constans and Constantius found in the Baths of Agrippae see Platner, Dictionary, p. 518.

D. For a discussion of the excavations carried out in the Baths of Decius see Platner, Dictionary, pp. 526-527; Jordan, Topographie, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 163.

In 1824 a small rectangular mosaic panel of two theater masks came to light in the Baths of Decius. See Jones, A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures, vol. 1, p. 154, plate 35: not dated by Jones. The contorniati occasionally present similar masks which thus may indicate a fourth century date, see Alföldi, Kontorniaten, Katalog #54 and #55. The mosaic contains a comic mask and a tragic mask. The comic mask presents the debauched face of a satyr, with a crown of ivy leaves, bushy eyebrows, a flat nose, and a widely-gapping mouth. The tragic mask exhibits the frightened face of a young maiden. This mosaic probably indicates the sponsorship of actual theatrical productions at the Baths. (Consult also the colossal marble theater masks in the Braccio Nuovo: Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 1, pp. 41-42, Tafel 6.)

For a statue of the infant Hercules found in the Baths of Decius see Helbig, Führer, vol. 2, #1399: found in the vicinity of the Baths of Decius; dated mid-third century; regarded as part of the original decoration of these Baths; Jones, A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures, vol. 1, pp. 275-276, plate 64: assigned to the Baths of Decius; dated as a late Roman copy.

A muse statue has also been unearthed at the Baths of Decius: Jones, A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures, vol. 1, pp. 298-299, plate 73: found on the Aventine, "may have adorned the Thermae Decianae;" dated second century A.D.

Also consult the inscribed statue bases from the Baths of Decius noted in the Catalogue for Rome at the end of the thesis.

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E. On other baths and nymphaea restored during the fourth century by unknown patrons see LaBranche, Public Architecture, (1) the baths near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, p. 167; (2) baths on the Via Clementina p. 167; (3) baths near the Theater of Marcellus pp. 167-168; (4) the nymphaeum in the Gardens of Licinius p. 189; (5) the nymphaeum on the Sacra Via pp. 189-190.

F. Also consult the following edicts from the Codex Theodosianus regarding public buildings in Rome:

15,1,11; dated May 25, 364:

"IMPP. VAL(ENTINI)ANVS ET VALENS AA. AD SYMMACHVM P(RAEFECTVM) V(RBI). Intra urbem Romam aeternam nullus iudicum novum opus informet, quotieus serenitatis nostrae arbitria cessabunt . Ea tamen instaurandi, quae iam deformibus ruinis intercidisse dicuntur, universis licentiam damus. DAT. VIII KAL. IVN. PHILIPPIS DIVO IOVIANO ET VARRONIANO CONSS."

15,1,19; dated 376:

"IMPPP. VALENS, GR(ATI)ANVS ET VAL(ENTINI)ANVS AAA. AD SENATVM. POST ALIA: Nemo praefectorum urbis aliorumve iudicum, quos potestas in excelso locat, opus aliquod novum in urbe Roma inclyta moliatur, sed excolendis veteribus intendat animum. Novum quodque opus qui volet in urbe moliri, sua pecunia, suis operibus absolvat, non contractis veteribus emolumentis, non effossis nobilium operum substructionibus, non redivivis de publico saxis, non marmorum frustis spoliatarum aedium deformatione convulsis. LECTA IN SENATV VALENTE V ET VALENTINIANO AA. CONSS."

15,1,27; dated April 4, 390:

"IDEM AAA. ALBINO P(RAEFECTO) V(RBIS) ROM(AE). Augustae in partibus civitatis magis antiqua reddi convenit quam inchoari supervacua. Nosse itaque par est officium magnitudinis tuae et ceteros, a quibus sumptus huiusmodi operibus de aerario praebebuntur, accepto omnino non ferri, si quis per usurpationem opus praeter conscientiam nostram intra aeternam urbem voluerit publica conlatione construere. Ideoque summam omnem, quae illi contra interdictum forte praebebitur, pecunia sua et propriis facultatibus pendet, sequestrata condemnatione librarum auri decem, quae plectet sacrilegam contemnentis audaciam. DAT. PRID. NON. APRIL. MED(IOLANO) VALENTINIANO A. IIII ET NEOTERIO CONSS."

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11,20,3; dated October 5, 405:

"IMPP. ARCAD(IVS) ET HONOR(IVS) AA. HADRIANO P(RAEFECTO) P(RAETORI)O. Exigua quodammodo aedificiorum pensitatio nullum erga possessiones suas superindicti oneris pondus agnoscat. Per omnes autem civitates municipia vicos castella ex horreis balneis ergasteriis tabernis domibus cenaculis, salinis etiam omnibus praeter mancipum, quae populi Romani lavacris inserviunt, vel his, quae in memoratis locis sub pensionis locatione retinentur, nullius excepta persona unius anni, hoc est tertiae indictionis devotione congrua a locorum dominis pensio conferatur, excepta scilicet aeternabili urbe, quam ab huiusmodi munere reverentia propriae maiestatis excusat. Ea videlicet ratione servata, ut, si qui dominorum defuerit, vel a procuratoribus vel ab his qui haec loca sub conductione detentant, id quod praeceptum est inferatur dominorum rationibus inputandum, ea condicione servata, ut sciant tantum, quantum ipsi percipere consuerunt, omni maturitate oportere conferre. DAT. III NON. OCTOB. RAV(ENNAE) STILICHONE ET AVRELIANO CONSS."

G. The so-called Janus Quadrifrons also dates to this era: Nash, Dictionary, vol. 1, pp. 504-505, dated first half of the fourth century. Note that the contorniati portray a four-way arch: Alföldi, Kontorniaten, Katalog #478-479. Perhaps the arch honored Constantine the Great and his three sons, ca. 337 (?) thus explaining why a "four-way" arch should be erected.

[13]A discussion of the excavations in the Baths of Constantine can be found in Platner, Dictionary, pp. 525-526; Nash, Dictionary, vol. 2, pp. 442-447; Lugli, Fontes, vol. 4, p. 264; Middleton, Remains, vol. 2, pp. 182-186; LaBranche, Public Architecture, pp. 162-163 who notes the problem in the precise dating of these baths.

[14]Santangelo, Quirinale nell' antichità pp. 202-210; and Middleton, Remains, vol. 2, pp. 182-186.

[15]Thomas Ashby, "Drawings of Ancient Paintings in English Collections," PBSR 7 (1914) pp. 40-46, plate 18.

[16]Ibid., plate 18.

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[17]Jean Baptiste Louis Georges Seroux d'Agincourt, Storia dell'arte col mezzo dei monumenti dalla sua decadenza nel IV secolo fino al suo risorgimento nel XVI, vol. 5 (Milan 1835) part II; plates, plate # 4,18; Ashby, PBSR 7 (1914), p. 42, #43.

[18]Seroux d'Agincourt, Storia dell'arte, vol. 5, part II: plates, plate #4,15; and Ashby, PBSR 7 (1914), p. 44 #72.

As a recreational center the Baths of Constantine housed numerous statues of athletes; two outstanding pieces are preserved, the bronze boxer by Apollonios of Athens and the so-called Belvedere Torso by the same sculptor. Again art historians have sadly neglected to consider their provenance when attempting to date these compositions. The boxer and the Belvedere torso deserve comparison with the late imperial athlete mosaics from the Baths of Caracalla noted below in the essay.

On the boxer see Helbig, Führer, vol. 3, #2272: found in the vicinity of the Baths of Constantine; dated as Hellenistic, probably first century B.C. Margaret Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age (New York 1967) pp. 179-180, plates 766-767, and 769: dated late Hellenistic, probably first century B.C.; she observes its close similarity to the Belvedere torso and the fact that real prototypes for these statues have not been discovered; she thus characterizes both as "new works in the eclectic style which the Romans liked."

Regarding the Belvedere Torso consult Helbig, Führer, vol. 1, #265: provenance uncertain; dated first century B.C., Bieber, Hellenistic Age, pp. 179-180, plates 766-769: dated late Hellenistic, probably first century B.C.

[19]Helbig, Führer, vol. 3, #2273: found in the vicinity of the Baths of Constantine; identified as Alexander I Balas (?); dated mid-second century B.C.; Bieber, Hellenistic Age, p. 171, plates 682-683, and 685: identified as Demetrios I Soter of Syria.

[20]Seeck, Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste, pp. 185-208; also André Piganiol, L'Empire Chrétien (Paris 1947 in Histoire Générale edited by Gustave Glotz) pp. 76-77:

> "Presque chaque année les Perses pillent le territoire romain et les Romains, plus timidement, réagissent et les chassent, puis franchissent le Tigre à leur tour. Les flatteurs de Constance annoncent en lui un nouvel Alexandre; on rédige en 345 un Itinerarium Alexandri. En 343, Constance envahit l'Adiabène et prend le titre d'Adiabenicus. Sapor, en 346, assiege vainement Nisibis pour la seconde fois, puis conclut un armistice. Il reprend l'offensive en 348 et rencontre l'armée romaine

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près de Singara; Constance, qui est présent, veut éviter le combat; mais ses soldats indisciplinés prennent malgré lui l'offensive et s'emparent du camp ennemi; une contre-attaque victorieuse des Perses en fait un massacre. Les Romains comptent cet échec sanglant pour une victoire. En 350, Sapor livre à Nisibis un troisième assaut, avec des moyens très puissants; il réussit à faire approcher des murs les éléphants de l'Inde, qui portent des tourelles garnies d'archers. Mais il échoue encore, et la menace des nomades Chionites le rappelle pour plusieurs années à l'est de ses Etats. Constance vient visiter Nisibis sauvée, avant de se rendre en Occident. Il a combattu avec obstination et a souvent couru danger."

[21]Itinerarium Alexandri, edited Carolus Müller. (Paris 1877 Didot Collection), paragraphs 1, 8, 9, 10, and 11 are quoted. See also note 53 of Chapter IV.

Note the haughty attitude of Claudian, Epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii (edition of T. Birt Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi volume 10 Berlin, 1892) lines 224-225 referring to Theodosius I:

"misit Achaemenio quidquid de Tigride Medus
cum supplex emeret Romanam Parthia pacem."

[22]Bieber, Hellenistic Age, p. 161.

[23]Francesco Gnecchi, I Medaglioni romani (Reprint 1912 edition Bologna 1968) vol. 2, p. 151, tav. 137, #10: the obverse reads: "DN CONSTANTIUS PF AUG," with portrait bust of Constantius wearing the diadem; the reverse side reads "VIRTUS AUG N," and shows Constantius with a spear held by his left hand which grasps the spear with the arm upraised and with the fingers wrapped around the top of the spear; in his right hand the emperor holds out a globe; the emperor is shown wearing a military cape.

In addition, fourth century contorniati occasionally present figures which strongly resemble the stance of the bronze statue. See therefore Alföldi, Kontorniaten, Katalog # 235, Tafel 25, 5,6; #239, Tafel 25,8: these present on the obverse a portrait bust of Trajan; on the reverse a central standing figure holding a spear in the left hand; attendants surround the figure; #302, Tafel 37,6 which presents M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius and a standing figure with a spear; #312, Tafel 39,5 with Antoninus Pius and the standing figure with a spear; #529, Tafel 53,9; #492, Tafel 54,6 (and also # 275, Tafel 35,4).

[24]Nash, Dictionary, vol. 2, p. 446 for the Nile and p. 447 for the Tigris.

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[25]Ibid., p. 447.

[26]Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, Tafeln 28-29, and 37-39.

[27]Nash, Dictionary, vol. 2, p. 444 and p. 156 where they are shown with the obelisk from the Mausoleum of Augustus.

Christian interest in pagan mythology can be seen in the Mythologiarum Libri III ad Catum Presbyterum by Fabius Planciades Fulgentius which seems to date from the fifth century; see Skutsch, "Fulgentius," R-E, vol. 7, pt. 1, cols. 215-227.

The interest of late Roman society in Homer is substantiated by Ausonius' Periochae Homeri Iliadis et Odyssiae (published in Schenkl's edition as Appendix I). The preface to this work deserves quotations:

> "Si Homerum, scriptorem Troici belli eatenus, qua Iliadem suam incipit quaque finit, percenseamus, orsum ab iracundia Achillis ad sepulturam Hectoris quattuor et viginti libros contexuisse monstrabimus. haec eius species apparet summam cutem primi operis intuenti. verum hoc scripturae ipsius tempus Troiano bello non totum. sed paene ultimum fuit. nam si ratio putanda est oppugnationis decennis, nonus fere annus, idemque prope finem sui, ea negotia continebit, quae ab iniuria Agamemnonis ac Briseidis usurpatione usque ad funus Hectoris digna memoratu (erant: non) erit illa temporum series, quae ab eiusdem belli causis atque origine pertinet ad urbis excidium. atque ex eo eveniet, ut ignaris iudicandi et poeticae oeconomiae expertibus, multa nobilia ab exordio belli usque ad Achillis iurgium omissa videantur. nec minus multa ab Hectoris funere ad usque deletum Ilium. quorum quidem maxima expectatio erat propter tam longi certaminis consummationem. sed ut divinum poetam nihil quod illustre fuerit omisisse appareat atque omnia quae finiri oportuit contigisse, breviter et in epitomae speciem belli Troici causam originis apparatusque quae(que) annis superioribus acciderunt retexuimus. horum omnium prima origo est Paridis iudicium inter deas, deinde classis contextio, qua idem Paris in Europam navigavit, tum raptio Helenae, quae opinione veterum bipertita est, quod plerique Helenam iuxta Homericum plasma ad Troiam deportatam fuisse existimaverunt, nonnulli autem opinati sunt, cum Alexander cursu deerrasset delatusque ad Aegyptum fuisset, cognita hospitalis foederis iniuria, (per) Aegyptium regem, servantissimum

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> iusti virum, Helenam cum iis, quae una cum eadem fuerant abrepta, Paridi sublatam expugnato demum Ilio Menelao restitutam."

Also note Ausonius' Epitaphia which celebrates the heroes of the Trojan War: his preface to the work reads as follows:

> "Ad rem pertinere existimavi, ut vel vanum opusculum materiae congruentis absolverem et libello, qui commemorationem habet eorum, qui vel peregrini (Burdigalae vel) Burdigalenses peregre docuerunt, Epitaphia subnecterem, scilicet titulos sepulcrales heroum, qui belio Troico interfuerunt. quae antiqua cum aput philologum quendam repperissem, latino sermone converti, non ut inservirent ordini persequendi, set ut cohaererent libere nec aberrarent."

[28]For the motif of the Dioscuri on the contorniati see note 9 above.

[29]Platner, Dictionary, pp. 520-525, especially p. 521 where the brick stamp of Constans and Constantius is cited as evidence of imperial restoration work; Nash, Dictionary, vol. 2, pp. 434-441; Lanciani, Ruins, pp. 538-540; Middleton, Remains, vol. 2, pp. 158-177, esp. 175-177; LaBranche, Public Architecture, pp. 161-162.

A magnificent composite capital with a standing figure of an athlete has been unearthed at the Thermae; see Nash, Dictionary, vol. 2, p. 437; compare Strong, Art in Rome, vol. 2, p. 188, plate 541 and p. 146, plate 477.

For the colossal head of Ascelpius from the baths see Helbig, Führer, vol. 3, #2227: found at the Baths of Caracalla; dated third century A.D.; commissioned for the Baths of Caracalla; Bieber, Hellenistic Age, p. 107, plate 423: cited as a Roman copy, but not discussed. Ascelpius only rarely appears on the contorniati, yet one interesting example portrays the hero with Hercules and Hygieia--the snake coiled about his staff makes the identification unmistakable; see Alföldi, Kontorniaten, Katalog #547, Tafel 47,3. Perhaps the colossal head should be more carefully examined in connection with the colossal river gods and the contorniati; such investigations may lead to its dating in the fourth century (?).

[30]The most recent study of these mosaics is Van Essen, 1950 Verricht, pp. 93-109, who assigns them to the period 335-345; Blake, Mosaics of the Late Empire, pp. 111-112, plates 25, and 28-29; Blake argues for a date in the third century; see however pp. 111-112 where Blake cites the valid arguments of Hülsen for a fourth century date.

[31]Blake, Mosaics of the Late Empire, plate 28, upper left corner.

[32]Ibid., pp. 111-112.

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[33]Bieber, Hellenistic Age, p. 134: "This is a copy made in the early third century A.D. for the baths of Caracalla (211-217);" she provides no solid evidence to support this chronology.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Gnecchi, Medaglioni, vol. 1, p. XLVIII for Gnecchi's table on allegorical personifications found on the medallions.

[36]Alföldi, Kontorniaten, Katalog # 310, Tafel 39,1 and 2: the obverse bears a portrait of Antoninus Pius with the inscription "ANTONINUS PIUS AVG;" the reverse contains no inscription; see also # 383.

[37]Bieber, Hellenistic Age, p. 122.

[38]E. Vernon Arnold, Roman Stoicism (Cambridge, Eng. 1911) pp. 160, and 295-296 notes 161-163; also Haug, "Hercules," R-E, vol. 8, cols. 550-612, esp. 579-582.

[39]Jules Maurice, Numismatique Constantinienne, vol. 1 (Paris 1908), pp. 1-54. Consult in addition Ausonius' poem on the labors of Hercules: Monosticha De Aerumnis Herculis:

"Prima Cleonaei tolerata aerumma leonis.
proxima Lernaeam ferro et face contudit hydram.
mox Erymantheum vis tertia perculit aprum.
aeripedis quarto tulit aurea cornua cervi.
Stymphalidas pepulit volucres discrimine quinto.
Thraeiciam sexto spoliavit Amazona balteo.
septima in Augei stabulis inpensa laboris.
octava expulso numeratur adoria tauro.
in Diomedeis victoria nona quadrigis.
Geryone extincto decimam dat Hiberia palmam.
undecimo mala Hesperidum destricta triumpho.
Cerberus extremi suprema est meta laboris."

[40]Bieber, Hellenistic Age, p. 37, plate 84: "It originally stood in the baths of Caracalla; its colossal size and exaggerated musculature are in keeping with the huge dimensions of the room in which it was found. It bears the signature, not of Lysippos, but of Glykon of Athens, who was probably commissioned at around A.D. 211-217 to make this copy for the new luxury establishment."

[41]Alföldi, Kontorniaten, Katalog # 485, Tafel 52,5: obverse showing portrait of Nero holding Hercules' club; reverse contains standing frontal figure of a nude, heavily muscled man with a beard and his left arm around a large club that appears to be partially draped with a cloth or a skin.

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[42]This ivory, traditionally called the Apotheosis ivory, has been interpreted in a variety of ways. De Loos-Dietz, Ivoren, pp. 124-131: regarded as a Roman creation produced in 386 to celebrate the two-hundredth anniversary of Antonius Pius; Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #56, Tafel 14: probably from Rome; mid-fifth century; he observes "zwei Darstellungen ohne Trennung"; Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen, #59, Tafel 59: probably from Rome; presents the apotheosis of Antoninus Pius; dated ca. 380.

Much effort has been directed towards the deciphering of the monogram at the top of the ivory. It appears thus: . It is possible to read the monogram as "Alexander-Constantius." The letters "A" and "N," being the two common letters in their names, seem to predominate in the monogram; the central "M" actually consists of "N" and "A" placed side by side.

[43]Consult note 9 above and Alföldi, Kontorniaten, Katalog # 1-3, 50, etc. and pp. 102-104.

The famous cameo in the Metropolitan Museum probably presents a variation of this same theme of Alexander's reincarnation. See Margarete Bieber, "Honos and Virtus," AJA ser. 2, vol. 49 (1945) pp. 25-34, fig. 4 and p. 27 where it is assigned to Rome in the fourth century; Bieber's own interpretation though does mention Alexander, but she does believe it was produced for Constantius.

[44]Ammianus Marcellinus, 16,10,1 - 16,10,12.

[45]Stern, Le Calendrier de 354, pp. 83-87.

[46]Gisela M. A. Richter, The Engraved Gems of the Greeks Etruscans and Romans, Part I: Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans, A History of Greek Art in Miniature (London 1968) p. 151, #596 with enlargements of both sides: she observes: "The scene has been differently interpreted--as the apotheosis of Alexander or of one of the Ptolemies; or as Nile with Isis and Horus, etc. That it is to be connected with Egypt is indicated by the sphinx, and the fruitfullness of the land is suggested by the cornucopias, the plough, and the little bag doubtless containing seed. The flying figures have been interpreted as wind gods, and the two seated figures as Horai;" she dates the cameo to the second century B.C. with the following argument, "That the date is Hellenistic, rather than Roman, seems indicated by the superb, fluid workmanship and also by the expression of pathos in the gorgoneion." Consult also Bieber, Hellenistic Age, p. 101, plates 410-411: interpreted as the Fertility of Egypt with a Medusa head on

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the outside; assigned to Alexandria and attributed to the Hellenistic period.

As to the date of this extraordinary sardonyx, the iconography of the Nile with his cornupia and sphinx recalls the fourth century sculpture of the reclining river god commissioned for the Baths of Constantine. Moreover, the Herculean physique of the engraved Nile, his large straight nose, and his knotted coiffure resembles so strongly the features of the colossal river god that it can validly be suggested that the Farnese cameo deserves to be placed in the fourth century.

A cultural and ethnological interest in Egypt and India permeates the Itinerarium Alexandri, esp. 48-53, 104-115; also see note 11 above.

[47]J. M. C. Toynbee, Roman Medallions. Numismatic Studies 5 (1944) pp. 187-188 for a discussion of the Roma motif on fourth century medallions in general; Also consult Gnecchi, Medaglioni, vol. 1, p. 36 Valens #5, plate 14, 14-15 for a gold medallion with Roma figure; mint mark Trier. Also p. 37, Gratian, #1-2, and 3: three gold medallions; mint mark Trier. Also for the bronze pieces see vol. 2, Constans, #10-12; Constantius, #13, 68-70; Jovian, #6; and Gratian #2, 3, 4, 5.

[48]Gnecchi, Medaglioni, vol. 1, p. 36, Valens #6, plate 16,2.

The "Roma motif" neatly summed up the entire history and culture of the eternal city. See note 9 above on the contorniati, and also Theodosius' advice regarding the study of early Roman history, Claudian, Panegyricus De Quarto Consulatu Honorii, lines 396-418:

'Interea Musis animus, dum mollior, instet
Et quae mox imitere legat; nec desinat umquam
Tecum Graia loqui, tecum Romana vetustas.
Antiquos evolve duces, adsuesce futurae
Militiae, Latium retro te confer in aevum.
Libertas quaesita placet? mirabere Brutum.
Perfidiam damnas? Metti satiabere poenis.
Triste rigor nimius? Torquati despice mores.
Mors impensa bonum? Decios venerare ruentes.
Vel solus quid fortis agat, te ponte soluto
Oppositus Cocles, Muci te flamma docebit;
Quid mora perfringat, Fabius; quid rebus in artis
Dux gerat, ostendet Gallorum strage Camillus.
Discitur hinc nullos meritis obsistere casus:
Prorogat aeternam feritas tibi Punica famam,
Regule; successus superant adversa Catonis.
Discitur hinc quantum paupertas sobria possit:
Pauper erat Curius, reges cum vinceret armis,
Pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhi cum sperneret aurum.
Sordida dictator flexit Serranus aratra:
Lustratae lictore casae fascesque salignis
Postibus affixi; collectae consule messes
Et sulcata diu trabeato rura colono.'

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Livy naturally attracted the attention of the antiquarians; one fourth century writer drew up a summary for each book in Livy's history of Rome as a tool for those who desired to read through the 142 books. These late Roman epitomes apparently made use of earlier and more detailed summarizes. See Otto Rossbach, T. Livi Periochae Omnium Librorum Fragmenta Oxyrhynchi Reperta Iulii Obsequentis Prodigiorum Liber (Teubner Texts Leipzig 1910) esp. pp. X-XI. The interest of fourth century society in the early empire can also be seen in Ausonius' Caesares.

[49]See note 64 of chapter one for the basic bibliography. The single best introduction to the entire subject of imperial church building at Rome, apart from Krautheimer's Corpus, is Gregory T. Armstrong, "Constantine's Churches," Gesta 6 (1967) pp. 1-9 who dates the eight basilicas and provides extensive bibliography. Consult also Index II at the end of the thesis.

[50]The best introduction to date on Old St. Peter's is Richard Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture (Harmondsworth 1965) pp. 32-36; illustrations 13-14, and pp. 318-319 for bibliography: he argues that at the time of Constantine's death only the transept area including the shrine, triumphal arch, and apse had been completed; he assigns the completion of the nave to 360 at the earliest, and the completion of the atrium to about 390; (Krautheimer's exhaustive study of Old St. Peter's, St. Paul's outside-the-walls, and the Lateran basilica have not yet been published in his Corpus); Krautheimer, DOP 21 (1967) pp. 120-121, and notes 10-11: it is argued that Constantius, not Constans, should receive credit for completing the nave and adding the traditio legis apse mosaic; Krautheimer suggests that Constantius' visit to Rome in 357 marks the date for the emperor's decision to complete St. Peter's; Deichmann, Frühchristliche Kirchen, p. 21: "Sie wurde wahrscheinlich unter der Regierung von Konstantins Sohn Constantius um die Mitte des vierten Jahrhunderts vollendet; Armstrong, Gesta 6 (1967) p. 2 and p. 4 maintains that the church was begun ca. 326-333 and finished "long after that"; p. 4 for extensive bibliography; S. Alexander, RAC 47 (1971) pp. 292-295, who follows Krautheimer's position that the church was finished after Constantine's death; J. H. Jongkees, Studies on Old St. Peter's, Archaeologica Traiectina, vol. 8 (Groningen, 1966) chapter 1, pp. 1-28 for a description of the basilica; chapter 2, pp. 29-40 for a discussion of the dates of construction; the author maintains that the structure, except for the decoration, had been finished by the time of Constantine's death in 337, p. 34: "This would mean, that the building operations proper were practically finished by the time of Constantine's death, which would agree with tradition. To his son Constans was left the decoration, and it is significant that his name appears only in the apse mosaic"; Compare

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also B. M. Apolloni Ghetti, A. Ferrua, E. Josi, and E. Kirschbaum, Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano eseguite negli anni 1940-1949 (Città del Vaticano 1951), vols. 1 and 2; Grabar, Martyrium, vol. 1, pp. 293-305; J. Garber, Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen der alten Peters--und Pauls--Basiliken in Rom (Wien 1918); Toynbee and Ward Perkins, The Shrine of St. Peter, pp. 195-239, esp. 211-212.

[51]Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, p. 32: "...the original plan of the architects seems to have remained unchanged despite its slow execution...."

[52]Quoted from L. Duchesne, editor, Le Liber pontificalis: Texte, introduction, et commantaire, vol. 1 (Paris 1886) p. 195; for a discussion of the mosaic see notes 57-58 below.

[53]The date is uncertain. Perhaps the atrium reached completion at the same time that the Porticus Maximae was erected by Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius I (379-383); it would seem unlikely that these emperors would construct this vast colonnade if the atrium still stood unfinished. For the Porticus Maximae see note 59 below; Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, p. 34 dates the atrium to about 390; Alexander, RAC 47 (1971) p. 292 presents a literary source which confirms that the atrium had been completed by the end of the century.

[54]On the interior décor of Constantinian churches see Krautheimer, DOP 21 (1967) pp. 120-121, and p. 128, note 32; J. Croquison, "L'icongraphie chrétienne à Rome d'apres le Liber pontificalis," Byzantion 34 (1964) pp. 535-606, esp. 540-542; See in addition J. B. Ward Perkins, "The Shrine of St. Peter and its Twelve Spiral Columns," JRS 42 (1952) pp. 21-33, plates 2-7: dated ca. A. D. 200; perhaps from the northern Aegean; F. W. Deichmann, "Säule und Ordnung in der frühchristlichen Architektur," MDAI(R) 55 (1940) pp. 114-130.

[55]Duchesne, Le Liber pontificalis, vol. 1, pp. 176-177.

[56]Krautheimer, DOP 21 (1967) pp. 120-121, note 11.

[57]Ibid., pp. 120-121, note 11. José Ruysschaert, "L'inscription absidale primitive de S. Pierre, texte et contextes" Rend Pont Acc 40 ser. 3 (1967-1968) pp. 171-190, figure 3 with a reconstruction of the original absidal mosaic as a traditio legis scene; (he proposes that the basilica itself had been completed by A.D. 333; and the decoration of the apse under Constans).

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[58]Johannes Kollwitz, "Christus als Lehrer und die Gesetzesübergabe an Petrus in der konstantinischen Kunst Roms," Römische Quartalschrift 44 (1936) pp. 45-66 whom Krautheimer also utilizes; Compare also Wilpert, Mosaiken, pp. 359-367 and Tafel 114; Oakeshott, Mosaics of Rome, plate 29.

[59]Platner, Dictionary, pp. 423-424, where mention is made of the architectural fragments for the porticus, and p. 40 regarding the arch; La Branche, Public Architecture, pp. 214-215 for the porticus, and p. 144 on the arch; Strong, Art in Rome, vol. 2, p. 185; Jordan, Topographie, vol. 1, p6. 2, pp. 597-598 for the porticus and the arch; Middleton, Remains, vol. 2, p. 74; Lanciani, Ruins, pp. 445-446.

[60]LaBranche, Public Architecture, p. 53.

[61]CIL, vol. 6, 1184.

[62]See Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum, inde ab anno 367 usque ad annum 1053 datae, Avellana quae dicitur collectio (ed. Otto Guenther in Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. 35, pt. 1 Wien 1895) Epistula 3. This letter reads:

> "VALENTINIANUS THEODOSIUS ET ARCADIUS AUGUSTI SALUSTIO PRAEFECTO URBIS. Desiderantibus nobis contemplatione uenerationis antiquitus iam sacratae basilicam Pauli apostoli pro sanctimonio religionis ornare, pro quantitate conuentus amplificare, pro studio deuotionis attollere gratum fuit tuae sublimitatis officium, quod ad inspicienda uniuersa, ut res exigebat, detulisti et omnem situm locorumque faciem sermonis congrui diligentia nostrae serenitatis auribus intimasti. instructiores enim nos iubere decuit, quae iubenda sunt. quare participato examine cum uenerabili sacerdote intimatisque omnibus et magnificentissimo ordini et Christiano populo, quae iubemus, sublimitas tua rem diligentiore tractatu et plena rerum inspectione discutiat. ac si placuerit tam populo quam senatui iter uetus, quod basilicae praeterit dorsum quodque ripae Tiberini amnis adiacet, innouari, ita ut praesens uia spatiis futuri operis applicetur, eatenus per architectos futurae basilicae diriget formam, quatenus se planities extructioni amica praetulerit, ne ulla inaequalitas splendorem fabricae amplificentioris oblimet; siquidem in omni moenium facie decor summus est, quem seruari oportere prima statim fronte magnarum aedificationum

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> demonstrat intentio. iam illud ipsa res exigit, ut et synopsis operis construendi fideli tendatur examine sumptuumque omnium iuxta pretia rerum, quae in sacratissima urbe, praetaxatio plenius ordinetur atque ad nostram elementiam debita maturitate referatur; ut communi omnium consilio nostrae quoque serenitatis nutus accedat, quo facilius id, quod deuota mens statuit, pro tantae religionis meritis explicetur. ET ALIA MANU PRINCIPIS: Diuinitas te servet per multos annos, parens karissime atque amantissime."

Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, pp. 63-64, and p. 323 note 44: he suggests construction began about 385; and "the backing given by the Imperial treasury makes it likely that construction was completed by 400 at the latest"; Toynbee and Ward Perkins, The Shrine of St. Peter, pp. 167-168, and note 41, pp. 186-187; N. M. Nicolai, La basilica di S. Paolo (Roma 1815); P. Belloni, La basilica ostiense (Roma 1854); Deichmann, Frühchristliche Kirchen. pp. 31-34: the church re-building began about 386 under Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius; it reached completion under Honorius in the early fifth century; Alexander, RAC 47 (1971) p. 295: dates the commencement of construction to the 380's; F. W. Deichmann und Arnold Tschira, "Die frühchristlichen Basen und Kapitelle von S. Paolo fuori le Mura," MDAI(R) 54 (1939) pp. 99-111: the capitals were prepared specially for the church, while the bases consisted of spoils; the architects employed composite capitals in the nave and Corinthian ones for the aisles; Lanciani, Pagan and Christian Rome, pp. 150-153.

[63]For the donations to the church see Duchesne, Le Liber pontificalis, vol. 1, pp. 178-179.

[64]Richard Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, pp. 41-42, and 43-44, plate 9: the structure is assigned to ca. 350, and regarded as Constantina's own project; (p. 41 Krautheimer suggests that the mausoleum of Helena may have been originally designed for Constantine).

[65]Repertorium der Sarkophage, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 108-110, #174, Tafeln 41-42: dated ca. 333-366: thought to have been originally designed for Constantina, and not her father; Helbig, Führer, vol. 1, #21: dated as Constantinian.

[66]Henri Stern, "Les mosaïques de l'église de Sainte-Constance à Rome," DOP 12 (1958) pp. 157-218, esp. pp. 166-191; Guglielmo Matthiae, Mosaici medioevali delle chiese di Roma (Roma 1967) vol. 1, pp. 3-54, and vol. 2, color plates 1-11, black and white plates 1-26; Van Berchem, Mosaïques, pp. 1-8, plates 3-10; Blake, Mosaics of the Late Empire, pp. 121-122, no plates provided.

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[67]Matthiae, Mosaici, vol. 2, color plates 6-9; black and white plates 6 and 23-26.

[68]Ibid., vol. 2, color plates 3 (the bust of Constantina), and 4-5; black and white plates 4, and 16-19.

[69]Duchesne, Le Liber pontificalis, vol. 1, pp. 207-211, and pp. CXX-CXXV; Kenneth M. Setton, Christian Attitudes Towards the Emperor in the Fourth Century (New York 1941) pp. 57-108 for a general discussion of Constantius' policies. Consult also D. J. Geanakoplos "Church Building and 'Caesaro-papism', A.D. 312-565," Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies 7 (1966) pp. 167-186.

[70]See note 62 above.

[71]Compare Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 1-60.

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CHAPTER III

ARISTOCRATIC PATRONAGE IN CONSTANTINOPLE

On the death of Constantine the Great, Constantinople was still so new and so humble that the old aristocratic families of Rome disdained the new capital as an outpost, unfit for the residence of any aristocrat. The immense cultural gulf separating Old and New Rome reinforced the arrogance of the Romans, and instilled a feverish competitiveness in the Constantinopolitans. Although the very idealization of the cultural life of Rome precluded the possibility that the new capital would create truly original works in any of the arts, nonetheless this emulation of the eternal city meant that in the course of the century the new Christian capital would emerge as a center of Greek and Roman civilization with pagans and Christians able to participate side by side in a common cultural heritage.

In large measure, the re-creation of the traditional patterns of Roman life in an entirely new city necessarily had to emphasize the physical arts, so that the priorities of imperial and aristocratic patronage at Constantinople could not be determined by aesthetic values alone. However the "passion for pure display" which characterized late Roman society in general encouraged the Constantinopolitans to regard the promotion of architecture and the visual arts as the surest means by which they could rival

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the cultural supremacy of Rome; Claudian has captured perfectly the spirit of the new city in his gibe that the Constantinopolitans disdain Rome and admire only their own mansions: "Romam contemnere sueti mirarique suas quas Bosphorus obruat aedes."[1]

Lacking the tradition of the families in Rome, the Constantinopolitan nobles flaunted the externals of culture and indulged in an outward display of luxury in their residences that inspired both awe and disgust in such contemporaries as Ammianus Marcellinus, Claudian, and John Chrysostom. In this way the sponsorship of the physical arts constituted both a cultural and political pursuit. This chapter will examine the role of the aristocrats; the following chapter will analyze the even more important activities of the emperors in their efforts at uplifting Constantinople through private and public commissions. In this essay on aristocratic sponsorship the organization will involve a discussion of the decorative arts connected with the nobles' palaces and private lives, and then a discussion of their contributions to the civic life of the capital.

In view of the paucity of archaeological remains for domestic architecture in the capital, the study of sculptures, paintings, and mosaics must depend very heavily upon the literary sources.[2] The few aristocratic residences that have been uncovered confirm that the mansions reflected

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the late imperial style of enlarging the principal chambers to allow for an impressive display of wealth.[3] Sculpture which traditionally constituted the most prestigeous visual art form among the Romans, played a prominent part in the decoration of the nobles' mansions, for Chrysostom relates that statues and images could be seen everywhere, and that columns of exotic marbles embellished their stately halls.[4] The wealthiest among the aristocrats imitated the emperors by importing ancient statues from distant cities of the empire. In the fifth century, Lausus brought numerous masterpieces to his palace, the most celebrated being Phidias' chryselephantine statue of Zeus from Olympia.[5]

The extravagant display of mosaics and marble inlays created a riot of colors and designs in the main living quarters, and this rich ornamentation constituted one of the major expenditures in erecting a new residence. Chrysostom expressed utter dismay at the lavish sums poured out for rare marbles and for other decorative stone slabs.[6] Recently an excavation has unturned a well preserved mosaic which apparently decorated the home of the aristocrat Euphrasius. This polychrome floor mosaic depicts a nude dancing girl, and its style and sense of motion bear close similarity to some of the best mosaics from the Great Palace. The gaiety of the scene and the secular spirit make this an appropriate motif for the banquet rooms of the nobles whom Libanius characterized as nightly revelers.[7]

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The spaciousness of the principal chambers and the vast wall surfaces available in these rooms served as the single most important stimulus towards the enjoyment of privately owned paintings, and guaranteed the position of painting as a vigorous art form in the cultural life of fourth century Constantinopolitans. In addition to the wall frescoes, their homes displayed paintings on a wide variety of materials, particularly on wooden plaques, chests, and manuscripts. Chrysostom objected to the adornment of private homes with wall frescoes as extreme luxury, and equated this form of art with the foolish display of silken garments and jewels.[8] Epiphanius Bishop of Constantia also provides noteworthy information concerning privately owned paintings, for in a letter to the emperor Theodosius he begs the emperor to take action against the growing popularity of portraits depicting religious figures which were displayed in private homes, as well as in churches. Epiphanius' concern lies in the fact that the painters have never seen these religious personages, and consequently portray them in a totally subjective fashion.[9]

The most enlightened in the city promoted the art of painting through their activities as collectors of masterpieces from earlier centuries. One of the most significant acquisitions of Greek art took place about A.D. 400 when paintings from the Stoa Poikele in Athens were transported to the capital.[10] These connoisseurs of ancient art

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experienced a very special appreciation for illuminated manuscripts, since these works not only constituted the most available collectors' items, but also formed an essential aspect of their involvement in the literary arts. The preservation of these illuminated manuscripts would have constituted prized documents for the study of the awakening of Greek culture in fourth century Constantinople. Unfortunately the oldest dates only to the sixth century. The dedication portrait on the manuscript of Dioscorides indicates, however, the power that a patron wielded in the arts for it represents Gratitude of the Arts, Εὐχαριστία τεχνῶν, prostrated at the feet of Juliana Anicia, daughter of Galla Placidia, who is seated on a throne reading a copy of Dioscorides' work.[11]

Unlike paintings and sculpture, a considerable portion of the minor arts were finished products imported from the established centers of the east, particularly Antioch. Themistius regarded this flow of luxury items to the city's harbors as testimony to the quality of life available in the new capital.[12] The enthusiasm of the nobles for ivories, silver and goldware, and the other minor arts deeply distressed Chrysostom, and in demonstrating their preoccupation with material possessions, the patriarch points out that their tables are set with costly vessels of gold and silver, and delicate tablecloths, while their bedrooms are fitted out with splendid beds paneled in ivory.[13] Chrysostom saved

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some of his most bitter attacks for embroidery and tapestries. He maintains that the aristocrats corrupted this natural art form through their ostentatious display of needlework in their homes, and on their garments. He singles out wall hangings as an example of the extravagance that has led to the total misuse of embroidery, with the result that this art form has ceased to perform the function of art, and involves men only in frivolities.[14]

Every wealthy family in Constantinople owned a full collection of silver for dining, as well as silver vases, lamps, candelabra, and toiletries. Members of the haute noblesse also collected vessels of gold. Since many of the Constantinopolitan aristocrats lacked the enviable treasures of old silver and goldware found at Rome, they sought to impress their Roman peerage through the excellence of their show plate, the most important part of their collection. The hunting scene dish now in the Dumbarton Oaks collection reveals the magnificence attained in these silver display pieces. This large dish, assigned to the early fifth century, portrays in repoussé relief a mounted Amazon in pursuit of a lion accompanied by a male figure dressed in a Phrygian costume.[15] This splendid metalwork exhibits outstanding craftsmanship, and even more significantly a return to ancient Homeric motifs through the depiction of the Phrygian hunter.[16] The India dish found at Lampsacus probably was produced at Constantinople in the fourth century. It is so

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named because it represents in low relief the personification of India, seated among beasts of nature. Some have suggested that this imaginative work of art originally formed part of a series honoring exotic lands.[17]

While they took special pride in their show plate, the families also commissioned exquisite dining ware, such as the silver gilt ewer bearing a control stamp in the form of the Tyche of Constantinople and dating to about A.D. 400. The heavily ornamented ewer contains three bands of scenes worked in repoussé, the major band representing the Muses. A noteworthy feature of the vessel lies in the use of Greek for the inscriptions identifying the Muses.[18]

The wealthy only rarely made use of pottery as an ornamental art, but favored instead metalwork, glass, and carvings in precious stone. The principal exceptions would seem to be the pilgrims' flasks from Syria and the revived terra sigillata from Egypt.[19] An example of Constantinopolitan glassware is the fourth century Christian bowl with scenes from the Old Testament which bears strong resemblance to the glassware found amid the catacombs at Rome.[20] Eight carefully designed scenes encircle the central medallion which represents the sacrifice of Abraham. The scenes are explained by accompanying Latin inscriptions. Chrysostom in a castigation of the finery adorning the tables of the wealthy, comments that glassware would be more appropriate for a modest Christian, but he obviously did not have in mind

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a work as exquisite as this dish.[21] In addition to the locally produced pieces, Constantinople enjoyed a large selection of glassware from distant centers, especially the well known shops in Syria.[22]

Ivory seems to have enjoyed immense popularity with the wealthy in the capital, but little has been handed down through the ages. Nonetheless, the two best ivory sculptures still extant from the city do rank among the finest masterpieces of fourth century art, the paradise diptych and the angel diptych. The same love of nature and animals disclosed on the hunting scene plate and the India dish appears again on the paradise diptych. The ivory dates to the end of the century.[23] It portrays on one panel Adam resting in the garden of Eden with seventeen animals surrounding him, and on the other panel three narrative scenes in the life of St. Paul. The representation of the garden of Eden in conjunction with St. Paul, and the relegation of Adam to a corner of the panel appear rather strange, and might indicate that the artist simply employed the paradise motif to justify his concentration upon the animal scenes. This diptych is the only known fourth century ivory piece which combines definite Christian themes with such a bizarre pageant of the beasts of nature. Some have found similarities in the style of this luxury item and that of the diptych of Probianus, which indicates that Christian ivories in Constantinople would attain the elegance of works executed for public officials.[24]

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A single leaf of another Constantinopolitan diptych survives in the British Museum, and while its dating has been much debated, some of the most distinguished scholars assign the ivory sculpture to the fourth century.[25] The panel represents an angel standing atop a flight of stairs set within an elaborately adorned archway. He holds in his right hands a globe surmounted by a cross and in his left hand a sceptre. An inscription in Greek, set within a frame at the top of the leaf, reads "Receive these gifts, and having learnt the cause ...," addressed to the personage portrayed on the other leaf, possibly the Blessed Virgin.[26] The exceptional size of this diptych (H. 42.8 cm, Br. 14.3 cm) almost certainly indicates that this work of art was intended as a wall decoration.[27]

Tapestries and embroidery decorated every mansion. The little that is known regarding the production of linen, wool, and silk in the fourth century indicates that most of the creations for aristocrats had to be imported from the established centers of production. Imperial workshops, however, were probably established early in Constantinople to take care of the needs of the emperors, but were not generally accessible to the nobility. An exceptionally well preserved linen and wool emblem from a fourth century Coptic tapestry has been preserved in the Hermitage, and this charming figure of the goddess Ge illustrates the exquisite work that the Constantinopolitan nobles would purchase in the

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bazaars of the capital.[28] Since many of the Egyptian artisans produced articles for export, the figures often reveal a Greco-Roman physiognomy, as does this lovely goddess.

In the eyes of the nobles their magnificent homes symbolized the capital's le grand monde, just as her public buildings signified her political sovereignty, so that their success in erecting splendid mansions bore witness that Constantinople had attained a social and cultural milieu suitable for the residence of any aristocrat.

Despite the obligation which the nobles had to prove their social position, their involvement in the arts also stemmed from a sincere attachment to the visual arts, as is demonstrated by the criticisms hurled by Chrysostom against his Christian flock. This fondness for pageantry and display encouraged the nobles in the new capital to seize upon their wardrobe as a primary means of manifesting their appreciation of "culture," and consequently the rich ornamentation in dress which had begun in the early empire culminated in the extravagant apparel so cherished by the capital's le beau monde. Ammianus Marcellinus decried the effeminacy of the eunuchs at Constantius' court, and their popularization of silk vestments.[29] The styles adapted by these patricians influenced the entire empire, with the result that Constantinople became the fashion center of the fourth century. Besides the delicate silks and embroidered garments, the nobles availed themselves of thin linens,

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finished leathers, and profuse amounts of jewelery and perfume.[30] Chrysostom regarded their fine leather sandals ornamented with gems and silk threads as the height of pretentiousness.[31] Equally disgusted by their vulgarity, Claudian mocked them for protesting that even their silken garments weighed too oppressively upon their shoulders.[32]

In one of his most delightful vignettes of high society in the capital, Chrysostom asked why it was that the men of wealth considered it so stylish to load down their horses, mules, and wives with a cargo of jewelery and precious stones.[33] It is truly unfortunate that so very little jewelery has survived, in view of the importance of this art form in the lives of the well-to-do citizens. However several excellent rings have been handed down, and one of them is especially propitious since it contains both the busts and the names of the patrons.[34] This ring, executed in gold for the celebration of the marriage vows of Aristophanes and Vigilantia, probably dates to the late fourth or early fifth century; it is generally considered one of the finest marriage rings from late antiquity.[35] The patrons are shown facing one another, with a simple cross engraved above their heads, while their names have been written in Greek along the rim of the bezel. The individualized appearance of Aristophanes has led some to suggest that this work of art represents a unique creation for Aristophanes and his wife, rather than a mass-produced

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item which was simply inscribed with their names at the time of their commission.

The cultural unity of the Christian and pagan nobles manifested itself, in their private lives, through their mutual zealousness for spacious mansions filled with costly marbles, sculptures, and luxury articles from distant centers of the empire. As champions of the arts, the pagans and Christians joined together in a common cause of making the new capital into the cultural emulator of old Rome. This preoccupation with material possessions permeated even the most learned circles, for Eunapius relates that the philosopher Maximus, when called to Constantinople by Julian, soon discarded his philosopher's cloak and instead adopted garments too splendid for a true philosopher.[36] The stimulus for this outward display of refinement and culture came primarily from the barbarization of society in the third century. Yet the abandonment of Rome as the capital of the empire by Diocletian in favor of other administrative centers, along with Constantine's own decision to construct a new capital enormously accelerated the tendencies towards the externalization of culture.

Despite the almost obsequious reproduction of the aristocratic style of life maintained in Rome, the wealthy families of Constantinople rejected funerary art as a significent aspect of their promotion of the arts. A few Christians did commission sarcophagi, but most preferred

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simple interment in the earth, or in hypogea.[37] Pagans also generally relied upon burial in simple coffins, even though cremation continued to be practiced by the most tradition-bound.[38] The patriarchs of the city, however, were normally laid to rest in sarcophagi within the main body of Holy Apostles.[39] After A.D. 381, those who commissioned sarcophagi or urns were required to place them in cemeteries outside the city.[40]

Among the very few sarcophagi preserved from fourth century Constantinople is the sarcophagus of Victoria and Crescentinus which is dated by its inscription to January 8, 351.[41] Crescentinus, overcome by loss of his spouse, composed a personal epitaph to be inscribed on her tomb. The initial letters of the first twelve lines spell out his name. The epitaph has been reconstructed as follows:

> Cunctis hominibus haec praeparavit origo
> Reddere pignus terrae quod erat olim;
> Emissis omnibus poenis penetrat spiritus caelo
> Sanctae Majestati dare ratione[m] de factis.
> Comparavit ista[m] memoria[m] cujus capitula continent
> [versus]
> Et fecit venerandae memorabili virginiae suae.
> Nudum destituit conjugis aegra latus.
> Titulus decl[ar] at nostrum contubernium annos;
> Infantili aetate annos comple(v)imus istos xxxiii
> men. viii.
>
> Numquam l[a]esit numquam animos mariti.
> Victoria felix precibus tuis sedem prior possides
> istam!
> Saucius his titulis singula signa dedi
> Deposita viii idus Jan. post cons. Sergi[i] et
> Nigriniani.[42]

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The facade of a sarcophagus discovered in the Psamathia area of the city, and now in Berlin, testifies to the extraordinary craftsmanship that could be achieved on definitely Christian art.[43] The facade of Christ standing between two companions probably dates to the second half of the fourth century. The statuesque rendering of the three figures recalls the classicizing style of the Junius Bassus sarcophagus in Rome.

The destruction of the Christian churches and pagan temples along with the inscriptions makes it virtually impossible to assess the role of the patricians in commissioning art works for the religious edifices of the capital. The literary sources attribute the construction of five churches to aristocratic patronage, but the authors fail to include pertinent information regarding their decoration.[44] The few other references concerning gifts of wealthy Christians to the churches seldom contain specific details.[45] A celebrated letter of St. Nilus, however, brings to light an entertaining argument between the saint and Olympiodorus of Constantinople over the proper decoration of churches. In response to Olympiodorus' suggestion that the apse of his church be ornamented with animal scenes, St. Nilus made it clear that only the cross was to embellish the apse, and only scenes from the Old and New Testament were to adorn the nave.[46]

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Traditionally at Rome the aristocrats and the emperors had both played an active part in the construction of the city's religious edifices and public works. Although Constantinopolitans aspired to maintain this system, it nonetheless appears that very few well-to-do citizens were actually engaged in major building programs in the fourth century either as private patrons for churches and temples, or as public donors for civic structures. The exception was the prefect of the city, who undertook major civic projects as a part of his responsibilities as prefect. The major reason for the failure of the aristocrats to participate in the building program lay with their more modest wealth.[47]

The patricians who served as prefects of the city must have constituted the most wealthy families in the capital, for the public works undertaken by them involved considerable financial outlay. Modestus, Clearchus, and Aetius are known to have donated reservoirs, and although these structures principally served to store the city's water, they also involved the creation of park-like areas laid out with colonnaded walkways, statues, and formal gardens.[48] The reservoir built by a certain Philoxenes of undetermined office, was still in use in the early twentieth century.[49] It is called the Cistern of a Thousand and One Columns, for the number of the pieces in the double story columns supposedly equalled that number. The roof of this edifice rests upon two hundred and twenty-four columns, arranged in

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sixteen rows of fourteen pillars each. These unusual columns are formed from two distinct shafts joined together by drum-like blocks, and surmounted by unsculptured capitals. Each column supports the arches forming the square domes of the ceiling. It is certain that the marble pieces were cut specifically for this building since each part bears the marks of the heads of stone cutters corporation.

Magnus, the prefect in 375-376, dedicated the Thermae Carosianae, a project which undoubtedly involved commissions for numerous works of art.[50] One of the most celebrated contributions of the prefects of the city took place in A.D. 390, when Proculus assisted Theodosius I with the erection of the Egyptian obelisk. He was subsequently honored in the inscription placed on the base supporting the obelisk.[51]

Certainly one of the most important contributions of the nobles to the civic life of the capital consisted of their participation in the brilliant feat of making Constantinople a museum of ancient Greek and Roman art. Although the direction of this project lay with the emperors, many matters relating to the actual selection and transportation of the ancient sculptures and paintings had to be handled by the public officials.[52] Thus it seems that the patrician Lausus gathered together a truly astonishing collection of Greek masterpieces during the reign of Theodosius; he acted in the capacity of praepositus sacri cubiculi, even

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though part of this collection was placed in his own palace. This assemblage included, in addition to Phidias' chrys-elephantine Zeus, a statue of Aphrodite from Cnidus by Praxiteles, and the Kairos by Lysippus.[53]

The destruction of the inscriptions from the buildings and monuments of the capital constitute a major loss for the history of Constantinopolitan art, for undoubtedly there were other officials besides the above who participated in the promotion of the arts. Nonetheless, the silence of the literary sources on the involvement of the patricians in the building program of the capital seems to indicate that relatively few aristocrats undertook major projects in architecture or the visual arts.

The diptychs executed for the aristocrats as officials of the state have not survived from fourth century Constantinople. However, according to Delbrueck, the Stilicho dyptych produced in Milan definitely reflects the style of the eastern court.[54] The occasion for this diptych arose from the bestowal of the office of tribunus et notarius upon Stilicho's son.[55] Stilicho holds the principal position on this sculpture for the artist has devoted one entire panel to the father. The other panel depicts Stilicho's son with codicilli; he is accompanied by his mother. The attention given to the embroidered robes, jewels, and fibulae reflects the significance of these signs of high position and authority.

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In addition to the activities of the individual officials of the city, public patronage was also rendered by the aristocracy working together as a body through the Senate. Although the Senate in the eastern capital came into being only in A.D. 340 and thus lacked the prestige of the Roman Senate, it nonetheless served as the most important public expression of aristocratic patronage in the visual arts.[56] Its major contributions consisted of the erection of public statues to noteworthy citizens, and the formation of a public art gallery. The collection in the Senate House included statuary of the Muses from Helicon, and statues of Zeus from Dodona, and Athene from Lindos.[57] The Senate frequently honored members of the imperial families, nobles of distinguished service, and individuals of merit through the commissioning of paintings or statues for the public places of the city. Such works of art must have involved them in the requisitioning of the city's artists. We learn that in the late fourth century a statue of the empress Aelia Flavia Flaccilla was erected in the Senate house.[58] In the early fifth century, the senators voted to honor Aurelianus for his services with a golden statue. The inscription placed on the base of the statue has been preserved: "This golden Aurelianus, who stands here, is he who adorned the consular throne, whom our greatest emperors styled thrice Prefect and their father. The work is the Senate's to the troubles of which he willingly put an end."[59] The Senate also honored

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Constantius with a golden crown, which Themistius presented personally to the emperor on behalf of the Senate.[60]

The laying out of Constantinople as a new city with a multitude of new residences, public buildings, and churches constituted the most momentous stimulus for the creation of architecture and the visual arts in the fourth century. It is truly unfortunate that we have so little specific information on the activities of the aristocrats in the capital, or the artists whom they commissioned for their works. It has been suggested on the basis of style that the same sculptors who produced objects for the emperors must also have accepted commissions from the patricians.[61] Yet individual artists unconnected to the imperial workshops were also available, and Kollwitz has even argued that the renaissance in the visual arts in both Rome and Constantinople was possible only because these individual artists were operating outside the restrictive influences of the workshop.[62]

At the time of Constantine's death in 337 few men would have dreamed that Constantinople would so quickly emerge as a new cultural center. To some late antique observers it must have appeared that the Christian God had truly blessed the new capital; to others it remained clear that the remarkable transformation stemmed from the emperors' impressive funding of the city's physical structures and from the nobles' commitment to the new capital. In many

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respects the activities of aristocratic patronage at Constantinople testify to the powers of personal ideals, reenforced by the spiritual bonds of a cohesive community. Those nobles who took up residence in the new capital, either for religious or political reasons, enjoyed a sense of brotherhood that defied religious partisanship. Their commitment to the arts and to the new city gave them a sense of destiny that helps explain the extraordinary efflorescence of Constantinoplitan culture in the fourth century.

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NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

[1]Claudian, In Eutropium, II, 339-340.
On the lavish residences of the eunuchs at Constantius' court see Ammianus Marcellinus 22,4,5.

[2]A. For Constantinopolitan sculpture and architecture begin with the lengthy article by G. Becatti and A. M. Mansel, "Costantinopoli," Enc dell'arte, vol. 3, pp. 880-919; Gustave Mendel, Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines, et byzantines (Constantinople 1912-1914) vols. 1-3; N. Firatli, A Short Guide of Byzantine Works in the Archaeological Museum (Istanbul 1955); André Grabar, Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople, IV^e - X^e siècles. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul, vol. 17 (Paris 1963) which now ranks as one of the standard collections of early Byzantine sculpture; Johannes Kollwitz, Oströmische Plastik der Theodosianischen Zeit. Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte vol. 12 (Berlin 1941); Rudolf Kautzsch, Kapitellstudien, Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des spätantiken Kapitells im Osten von vierten bis ins siebente Jahrhundert. Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte vol. 9 (Berlin 1970);

Consult also the basic archaeological studies: A. M. Schneider, Byzanz, Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archäologie der Stadt. Istanbuler Forschungen 8 (1936) pp. 1-96; Franz Dölger and A. M. Schneider, editors, Byzanz. Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte, Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe vol. 5 (Bern 1952) pp. 261-291 on architecture; pp. 302-311 on sculpture; Arif Müfid Mansel, Türkiyenin arkeolojisi, epigrafusu ve tarihî coğrafyası için Bibliyografya (Ankara 1948); R. Janin, "La topographie de Constantinople byzantine, études et découvertes (1918-1938)," Echos d'Orient 38 (1939) pp. 118-150, and 380-413; E. Rosenbaum, "Berichte über Veröffentlichungen zur frühchristlichen und byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte, aus den Jahre 1939-1949 in Deutschland," Byzantion 19 (1949) pp. 371-416; E. Mamboury, "Les fouilles byzantines à Istanbul et ses environs (1936-1951)," Byzantion 21 (1951) pp. 425-459; J. Lafontaine, Fouilles et découvertes byzantines à Istanbul de 1952 à 1960," Byzantion 30 (1960) pp. 339-386; Charles Delvoye, "Études d'architecture paléochrétienne et byzantine," Byzantion 32 (1962) pp. 261-310, and pp. 489-547; R. Janin, "Constantinople byzantine, découvertes et notes de topographie," Revue des Études byzantines 21 (1963) pp. 256-269.

See note 15 of chapter one for late imperial sculpture; in particular the following three works which were cited in full in note 15: Byvanck, "Rome en Copel," pp. 108-111; Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts; L'Orange, Porträts.

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The following also deserve attention: H. Leclercq, "Byzance," DACL, vol. 2, pt. 1, cols. 1363-1454; H. Leclercq, "Byzantin art," DACL, vol. 2, pt. 1, cols. 1454-1520; E. Oberhummer, "Constantinopolis," R-E, vol. 4, pt. 1, cols. 963-1013; O. M. Dalton, Byzantine Art and Archaeology (New York 1961) chapters 3 and 4; Cornelius C. Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor (Cambridge, Mass. 1968); Peirce, Art, vols. 1-2; Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst edited by Klaus Wessel (Stuttgart 1963-) vols. 1-5 with numerous articles of interest; Paolo Verzone, et al., "Byzantine Art," Encyclopedia of World Art, vol. 2, cols. 752-840; F. W. Unger, Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte (Wien 1878); J. P. Richter, Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte (Wien 1897); Johannes Adolf Overbeck, Die Antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Greichen (Leipzig 1869); Heinrich Brunn, Geschichte der griechischen Künstler (Stuttgart 1889), vols. 1-2; Karl Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur, von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches, 527-1453. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, vol. 9, pt. 1 (München 1897 2nd edition revised by A. Ehrhard and H. Gelzer) pp. 1110-1112 for an excellent bibliographical essay on the topography of Constantinople in the early period; pp. 1113-1128 on art in general; pp. 1118-1122 on architecture, sculpture, and painting; Riegl, Kunstindustrie, pp. 83-236.

The Catalogue for Constantinople, Part I, contains additional references to sculptural pieces.

B. On mosaics and paintings begin with the article by Sergio Bettini, "Mosaici e pitture murali a Constantinopoli," Corsi 12 (1965) pp. 7-43; Byvanck, "Rome en Cople," p. 108; Dölger and Schneider, Byzanz, pp. 295-296; Ernst Kitzinger, "Stylistic Development in Pavement Mosaics in the Greek East from the Age of Constantine to the Age of Justinian," La mosaïque gréco-romaine, Colloques internationaux du centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris, 29 Aout - 3 Sept. 1963 (Paris 1965) pp. 341-352; Leclercq, "Mosaïque," DACL, vol. 12, pt. 1, cols. 307-309; H. E. Del Medico, A propos d'une mosaïque découverte à Istanbul," Byzantinoslavica 16 (1955) pp. 255-264; Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #665a - 671 and #672 - 691.

See also the reports on the Great Palace for additional material on mosaics: Gerard Brett, J. W. Stevenson, B. K. Robert, editors, The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, Being a First Report on the Excavations carried out in Istanbul on Behalf of the Walker Trust, The University of St. Andrews 1935-1938 (London 1947); David Talbot Rice, editor, The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, Second Report (Edinburgh, 1958).

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[3]A. Kriesis, "Über den Wohnhaustyp des frühen Konstantinopel," BZ 53 (1960) pp. 322-327; Great Palace, Second Report, p. 65; Dietrich Claude, Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert. Byzantinisches Archiv, vol. 13 (München 1969) pp. 100-101; Swoboda, Römische Paläste, pp. 133-184; esp. 157-159 and 301-302.

The names of several individuals who owned houses in the capital have been collected by Charles du Fresne Du Cange, Constantinopolis Christiana, seu Descriptio Urbis Constantinopolitanae, Liber Secundus (Paris 1682) pp. 164-180 which R. Janin incorporated into his own topographical study: Constantinople byzantine, développement urbain et répertoire topographique, Archives de l'Orient chrétien, vol. 4 (Paris 1950) pp. 286-472.

Notitia dignitatum edited by Otto Seeck (Berlin 1876) also contains the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae which provides a topographical listing of the buildings and monuments of the city compiled according to the regions of the city. Compare also W. Heil, "Der konstantinische Patriziat" Basler Stud. zur Rechtswiss. 78 (Basel 1966) pp. 1-186.

[4]John Chrysostom, In Epist. ad Philipp., Cap. III, Hom. X = PG 11 (62) col. 260: note the Greek " εἰς ὠλλα πᾶν τοῖχο καὶ τοῦνα ἑστῶντες . This work is assigned to Constantinople by Johannes Quasten, Patrology (Westminster 1950-1960) vol. 3, p. 447; also Chrysostom, In Psalmum XLVIII = PG 11 (62) col. 22; assigned by Quasten, Patrology. vol. 3, p. 435 to the city of Antioch.

Claudian, In Rufinum, 2,135 mentions the rare columns so popular in the city. Some decoration pieces came from the pagan temples; see Codex Theodosianus for edicts regarding the use of temple marbles and pagan sarcophagi: 9,17,1 -- 19,17,6; and 15,1,3; and 16,10,3 -- 16,10,7.

[5]Cyril Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," DOP 17 (1963) p. 58. The wealthy families undoubtedly brought their own private collections of sculpture to the capital.

[6]Chrysostom, In Epist. ad Philipp., Cap XII, Hom X = PG 11 (62) cols. 260 and 262. Also In Psalmum XLVIII = PG 11 (62) col. 22.

An edict by Julian reveals the high cost of marble at the time: Codex Theodosianus, 10,19,2.

[7]David Talbot Rice, Constantinople from Byzantium to Istanbul (New York 1965) p. 24, plate 4 which is dated A.D. 367-368. Rice suggests it may have been part of a scene of a drinking contest. Similar mosaics have been found in Antioch. See Doro Levi, Antioch Mosaic Pavements (Princeton 1947) vol. 2, plates 146-147.

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For Libanius' remarks on the Constantinopolitan aristocracy see Libanius, (ed. R. Foerster Teubner Texts Hildsheim 1963) Oration I, 75.

Consult Del Medico, Byzantinoslavica 16 (1955) pp. 255-264 for another mosaic which he thinks was commissioned by Euphrasius.

[8]Chrysostom, In Matth. Hom. XLI al. L = PG 7, pt. 2. (58) cols. 501-502. Compare also Chrysostom In Matth. Hom. XXX al. XXXI = PG 7 (57) col. 369 on his comparison between the painter's diligence and the Christian's diligence.

Beckwith, Chx Byz Art, p. 37 where he cites the statement of Eusebius of Caesarea on the icons of the day.

[9]Cited in Karl Holl's, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte (Tübingen 1928) vol. 2, pp. 360-362; compare also Quasten, Patrology, vol. 3, pp. 392-393.

[10]Synesius of Cyrene (ed. Migne), Epistle 135 (136) = PG 66, col. 1523.

[11]Dalton, Byzantine Art, p. 460; Weitzmann, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, pp. 96-150, esp. p. 135, and figure 110, where it is dated to A.D. 512. Compare also Nigel G. Wilson, "Two Notes on Byzantine Scholarship I and II," Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 12 (1971) p. 557, also dated to about 512.

On the Alexandrian chronicle see Adolf Bauer and Josef Stryzgowski, Eine Alexandrinische Weltchronik, Text und Miniaturen eines griechischen Papyrus der Sammlung W. Golenischev. Denkschriften der kaiserlich Akademie der Wissenschaften. Wien. Phil-Historische Klasse 51 abh. 2 (1906) pp. 1-203.

[12]Jones, Later Roman Empire, vol. 2, p. 857; Strong Gold and Silver Plate, pp. 183-185.

[13]Chrysostom, In Epist. Ad Coloss. Cap I, Hom I = PG 11(62), cols. 304-305; placed by Quasten, Patrology, vol. 3, p. 448 in Co nstantinople; Chrysostom, De Lazaro Conicio I = PG, 1, pt 2 (48) cols. 972-973.

[14]Chrysostom, In Matth. Hom. XLIX al. L = PG 7 pt. 2 (58) cols. 501-502.

[15]Ross, Catalogue, vol. 1, pp. 3-4, plates 2 and 3, he thinks that "in all likelihood" from Constantinople of the fifth century. See the Catalogue for Constantinople, Part III, for additional entries.

[16]Ross, Catalogue, vol. 1, pp. 3-4, where Ross cites the interpretation of Weitzmann.

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[17]Strong, Gold and Silver Plate, p. 198; also Hans Graeven, "Die Darstellungen der Inder in Antiken Kunstwerken," JDAI 15 (1900), pp. 195-218, figure 6, p. 203.

[18]Alisa V. Banck, Byzantine Art in the Collections of the U.S.S.R. (Leningrad 1966), plates 2-5.

[19]Dalton, Byzantine Art, p. 606. On fourth century terra sigillata from the east, see K. Kubler "Spätantike Stempelkeramik," MDAI(A) 66 (1931), p. 75ff.

[20]Banck, Byzantine Art in U.S.S.R., plates 27-31, almost certainly from the capital. See the Catalogue for Constantinople, Part IV, for additional entries.

[21]Chrysostom, In Epist. ad Coloss Cap I, Hom I = PG 11 (62), cols. 304-305.

[22]On Syrian glassware see Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #619-622.

[23]De Loos-Dietz, Ivoren, pp. 131-135: dated about A.D. 400, attributed to Constantinople; Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #108, plate 32: dated ca. 400, and attributed to Constantinople (with ?); Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen #69: dated ca. 450, and considered in all probability as a product of Constantinople; Charles Delvoye, "Les ivoires paleobyzantins: les ivoires profanes et les ivoires religieux," Corsi 18 (1971), pp. 209-210: attributed to Constantinople in the fifth century.

[24]Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #62.

[25]Dalton, Byzantine Art, p. 201, fig. 121; Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #295, plate 8, p. 53, assigns it to the capital during the fourth century; H. Leclercq, "Anges," DACL, vol. 1, col. 2110, assigned to Constantinople in fourth century; Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen, p. 11, fig. 5, about A.D. 400; Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #109, pl. 32, says Constantinople in the fifth century; Delvoye, Corsi 18 (1971), p. 209 thinks it is sixth century; DeLoos-Dietz, Ivoren, p. 132ff where it is attributed to the sixth century; Grabar, Kunst, plate 321, p. 397, dated to beginning of sixth century.

[26]Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #295.

[27]Dalton, Byzantine Art, p. 200.

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[28]Encyclopedia of World Art, Vol. 14, plate 5, dated to about fourth century; Grabar, Kunst, p. 323; #380, p. 399, dated to the third century; Charles Delvoye, "Les tissus byzantins," Corsi 16 (1969), p. 118, where Delvoye argues that Constantine had established imperial workshops for the production of fabrics very soon after laying out the new capital.

[29]Ammianus Marcellinus 22,4,5. Cf. MacMullen, AB 46 (1964), pp. 450-451, with full bibliography; Dalton, Byzantine Art, p. 584, note 1.

[30]Ammianus Marcellinus 22,4,5; Chrysostom, In Epist. ad Coloss. Cap I, Hom I = PG 11 (62), col. 304, assigned to Constantinople by Quasten, Patrology, vol. 3, p. 448; Chrysostom, In Epist. ad Philipp Cap III, Hom X = PG 11(62), col. 262, assigned to Constantinople by Quasten, Patrology, vol. 3, p. 447.

[31]Chrysostom, In Matth. Hom. XLIX Al. L = PG 7 pt. 2 (58) col. 501, placed in Antioch by Quasten, Patrology, vol. 3, p. 437.

[32]Claudian, In Eutropium II, 335-338.

[33]Chrysostom, In Epist. Ad Phillip. cap III, Hom X = PG 11(62), col. 259, placed in Constantinople by Quasten, Patrology, vol. 3, p. 447.

[34]Ross, Catalogue, vol. 2, #50, plate 39, pp. 48-50; assigned to Constantinople, either late fourth or early fifth century.

[35]Ross, Catalogue, vol. 2, p. 50.

[36]Eunapius, Vitae Sophistarum (ed. I. Giangrande Roma 1956) 477.

[37]Johannes Kollwitz, "Sarkophag," Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, vol. 9, cols. 339-332; Nezih Firatli, "Notes sur quelques hypogées paléochrétiens de Constantinople," Tortulae. Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen monumenten(Rom 1966), pp. 131-139, plates 32-35; Nezih Fitatlı, "Brief Archaeological News--Archaeological Finds in Istanbul," Annual of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul, 13-14 (1966), pp. 225-228, plates 1-4, regarding grave stele and a large sarcophagus which have been unearthed; Alfred C. Rush, Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity, Catholic University Studies in Christian Antiquity 1 (1941), pp. 1-282, esp. pp. 236-254; Arthur Darby Nock, "Cremation and Burial in the Roman Empire," Harvard Theological Review 25 (1932), pp. 321-359; Dalton, Byzantine Art, pp. 128ff.

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A number of sculptured marble slabs, apparently used as grave steles have survived from the fourth and fifth centuries: See also the Catalogue for Constantinople Part V; and Grabar, Sculptures, pp. 42-54; Nezih Firatli, Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine, avec l'édition et l'index commenté des épitaphes par Louis Robert: Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul, vol. 15 (Paris 1964), pp. 1-193; Nezih Fitatlı, "Annexe au livre sur les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine," Annual of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul, 13-14 (1966), pp. 188-209; Cf. Jean Ebersolt, Mission Archéologique De Constantinople 1920 (Paris 1921), pp. 38-44, on sarcophagi from fifth century Constantinople; and Mendel, Catalogue #666 cites a pagan funerary relief reused in the fourth century.

[38]Nock, Harvard Theological Review 25 (1932) p. 331, and p. 351.

[39]Philip Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors, 337-1042," DOP 16 (1962) p. 6, note 26. Consult also: R. Janin, La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, première partie: le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, vol. 3: Les églises et les monastères (Paris 1953) pp. 54 and 563.

[40]Codex Theodosianus, 9,17,6. This law also excluded burial at the shrines of the apostles and those of the martyrs. Yet we know that Flavius Caesarius, consul in A.D. 379, buried his spouse in the church at Thyrse, see Jones, Prosopography, p. 171.

Flavius Italas is known to have built a large tomb for his family at Nicaea about A.D. 337, see Jones, Prosopography, p. 465.

[41]Ebersolt, Mission archéologique de Constantinople 1920, pp. 45-9 but he provides no plate of this sarcophagus. He describes the discovery and condition of the sarcophagus as: "Dans l'imaret de Chah-Zadé se trouve, dans la salle du réfectoire, un sarcophage en marbre blanc adossé au mur. Le couvercle a disparu. Sur le long côté est gravée une inscription métrique en latin. Au début des vers, l'alignement vertical et observé avec soin; à la fin, le remplissage est inégal. La taille des lettres est uniforme sans ligatures. La dernière ligne indiquant la date, est gravée sur le socle du sarcophage."

[42]Ebersolt, Ibid., pp. 45-6.

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[43]Grabar, Sculptures, pp. 33-36, plate 8; Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art, p. 62, who furnishes recent bibliography on p. 62, note 42; Peirce, Art, vol. 1, plate 84; Cf. F. Gerke, Der Sarkophag des Junius Bassus (Berlin 1936).

[44]The five churches attributed to aristocrats are (1) the Church of the Scribes, erected by John Chrysostom, Janin, Les Églises, p. 391; (2) the Church of Thyrsa erected by Flavius Caesarius, Janin, Les Églises, pp. 256-70; (3) the Monastery of St. Isaac erected by Saturninus, Janin, Les Églises, pp. 86-88; (4) the Cloister of S. Sophia dedicated by Olympias, Janin, Les Eglises, pp. 395-396; (5) the Church of S. Stephen, attributed to Aurelianus, Janin, Les Églises pp. 488-9. Two others are questionable: (1) the Church of S. Anastasia possibly built by Patriarch Nectarius, Janin, Les Églises, pp. 26-28; (2) the Church of the Precurses, attributed to Rufinus, Janin, Les Églises, pp. 426-429; Cf. J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, Les Églises de Constantinople (Paris 1913).

On the inscriptions of Constantinople from the fourth and fifth centuries begin with Cyril Mango, "The Byzantine Inscriptions of Constantinople: A Bibliographical Survey," AJA 55 (1951), pp. 52-66; and then consult the essay on epigraphy by Dölger and Schneider, Byzanz, pp. 42-47; P. A. Dethier and A. D. Mordtmann, "Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopolis, von den Ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre Christi 1453," Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch--Historische Klasse 13 (1864), Zweite Abtheilung, pp. 1-94; Janin, Echos d'Orient 38 (1939), pp. 408-410 on newly discovered inscriptions; Krumbacher, Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur, pp. 1133-1135.

[45]Chrysostom, In Acta Apostolorum, Hom XXII = PG 9 (60), cols. 175-178, placed by Quasten, Patrology, vol. 3, p. 440 to Constantinople. The rhetor Cyprus is said to have presented S. Sophia's a statue of Helene, Jones, Prosopography, "Cyprus," p. 237.

[46]Cited by Grabar, Kunst, p. 101, where the letter is dated to ca. A.D. 400; Leclercq, "Mosaïque," DACL, vol. 12, pt. 1, col. 303, on a general discussion of mosaics from Constantinopolitan churches; he cites a passage from Gregory of Nyssa which relates that a floor mosaic he saw represented saint Theodore, which Leclercq uses to argue that floor mosaics were still generally common; See Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, pp. 46-49, 78-79.

[47]On the wealth of the Constantinopolitans, see Jones, Later Roman Empire, vol. 2, pp. 554-556.

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[48]On reservoirs see Janin, Constantinople byzantine, pp. 194-209. (1) The Cisterna Modestica, a covered reservoir, was begun in A.D. 362 by Domitius Modestus: Janin, Constantinople byzantine, p. 203, Jones, Prosopography, pp. 605-608. (It is interesting that a water-engineer was summoned from Antioch as Jones mentions.) (2) Clearchus and Valens collaborated on a covered cistern: Janin, Constantinople byzantine, p. 194; Jones, Prosopography, pp. 211-212. (3) The open reservoir of Aetius probably dates to A.D. 419; Janin, Constantinople byzantine, pp. 196-197. None of these three can be identified with any of the extant reservoirs in the capital.

[49]K. Wulzinger, "Die Steinmetzzeichen der Bin-bir-direk," BZ, 22 (1913), pp. 459-473, with illustration of the original state of the columns in p. 460; he dates it to time of Justinian. However, others date it to the fourth century, as in R-E "Philoxenes," Vol. 20, pt. 1, col. 191 dated to the era of Constantine the Great; Janin, Constantinople byzantine, p. 201; J. B. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire, From the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian (Dover paperback edition, N.Y. 1958), vol. 1, p. 73, note 6; Rice, Constantinople from Byzantium to Istanbul, pp. 44-45 dates it to time of Justinian on the basis of the style of the columns.

[50]Janin, Constantinople byzantine, p. 212; Jones, Prosopography, p. 536.

[51]On the project of Proculus see note 37 of Chapter IV .

In the fifth century, the prefect Simplicius erected a silver statue to Eudoxia, wife of Theosodius II, near the church of S. Irene: Dalton, Byzantine Art, p. 124, note 1; The prefect Anthemius built new city walls in cooperation with Theodosius II in 413, which were repaired by the prefect Cyrus: Rice, Constantinople from Byzantium to Istanbul, p. 31; Theodorus of unknown position and date adorned a basilica: Janin, Constantinople byzantine, pp. 158-159.

[52]Mango, DOP 17 (1963), p. 56.

[53]Ibid., p. 58.

[54]Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen, #63, plate 63: dated ca. 395. Consult also Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten. #63, plate 19. Attributed to northern Italy; about A.D. 400.
See also Delvoye, Corsi 18 (1971), pp. 191-207.

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[55]Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen, p. 242: on the basis of the codicilli held by Honorius.

[56]Jones, Later Roman Empire, vol. 1, pp. 132-133.

[57]Janin, Constantinople byzantine, pp. 155-156; Mango, DOP 17 (1963) p. 57. Although the sources attribute to the emperors the collection of these ancient masterpieces in the Senate, the aristocrats were undoubtedly involved.

[58]Jones, Prosopography, pp. 341-342; compare also Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, p. 118, who notes that porphyry statues of Constantine and Helena stood in the Senate.

[59]Quoted from Anthologia Graeca Palatina (An English translation by W. R. Paton. Loeb Classical Library) 16, 73; vol. 5, p. 199; Paton dates it to ca. A.D. 400. Consult Jones, Prosopography, p. 129.

[60]Jones, Prosopography, p. 890.

[61]Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 214.

[62]Kollwitz, RAC 39 (1963), p. 214.

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CHAPTER IV

IMPERIAL SPONSORSHIP IN CONSTANTINOPLE

Thus far we have looked at aristocratic sponsorship of the visual arts in New Rome, which was concerned primarily with art for the residences of the aristocrats themselves. If we turn now to the activities of the imperial families, these were conducted on both public and also private levels; the emperors were looked upon as the special benefactors of the new capital. Throughout the century, the city's raison d'etre stemmed from the presence of the imperial court, and this circumstance gave a unique dimension to imperial patronage never experienced at Rome. Constantinople was regarded as the imperial city and showcase. Thus, Themistius in his official orations expressed in various ways the notion that it was the emperors who brought Constantinople into being and adorned her with magnificent buildings and monuments. In his most sentimental declaration of this idea, Themistius praises Constantius as the ἐραστής of Constantinople who incessantly strove to embellish her with ever more beautiful apparel.[1]

Of all the projects undertaken by the imperial families in their new capital the Great Palace certainly represented one of their most ambitious, for the importance attached by society of late antiquity to the pompous show of wealth made the lavish display of the visual arts in the palace as

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essential to the imperial cult as the highly developed court ceremony and the distinctive attire of the imperial families.[2] The fourth century emperors whether pagan or Christian were honored as quasi-divine, and their palace was consciously conceived as a sacrum palatium. The use of special palace architecture with monumental entrances, expanded reception rooms, triconches, and colonnades dramatized the sublimity of the emperors and provided an atmosphere befitting the act of proskynesis humbly performed in the public chambers of the palace. Thus the visual arts constituted yet another means which the ruling families employed to set themselves apart from the rest of Roman society. By surrounding themselves with an unparalleled indulgence in sculptures, paintings, mosaics, as well as metalware, glyptics and the other visual arts, they gave proof of their cultural leadership. The public orator Claudius Mamertinus gave public acknowledgement of the value of the visual arts in advancing the image of emperors for he relates in a speech delivered before the emperor Julian that most people considered it proper for the rulers to distinguish themselves by the grandeur of their expenditures, and the acquisition of painted marble wall panels, and elaborate ceiling tiles of solid gold.[3]

The excavations carried out by the University of St. Andrews have provided us with art works that can be securely assigned to the Constantinopolitan palaces.[4] A few other

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pieces, the most important being the large nike relief in the Archaeological Museum in Constantinople, are considered by some scholars to have belonged to the Great Palace.[5] The references in the literary sources to the sumptuous decorations of the palaces rarely provide information that is specific enough to be of use, but we do learn, however, that Constantine adorned the gilded ceiling of the principal chamber of the Great Palace with a very large mosaic depicting the passion of Christ, which was worked in precious materials.[6]

The large polychrome floor mosaics uncovered by the excavations in the peristyle of the Great Palace constitute the most celebrated art works commissioned for the imperial residences. Their provenance is certain, but the dating of these extraordinary pieces continues to be highly disputed, principally because of their strong classical character. A date in the early or mid fifth century is the most widely accepted opinion.[7] The mosaics present a number of individual scenes drawn from secular life, very commonly of domestic and wild animals. One very delightful scene portrays a temperamental mule in the act of kicking off its rider and bundles of wood.[8] From a historical point of view, the large roundel of a contemporary barbarian warrior or military leader supplies us with rare documentary evidence of the interest of late imperial men in their northern neighbors.[9]

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A stylistic analysis of these mosaics indicates that as many as nine distinct workshops participated in their creation, with some workshops far superior to others.[10] It is thought that the entire project was directed by a single master, but that the individual heads of the workshops were given the freedom to select the specific scenes and the liberty to handle them in their own fashion.[11]

Throughout the fourth century the emperors continued to enhance their palaces and to amass new objects of art. Engraved gems, cameos, and gold and silverware greatly appealed to the imperial families. One of the most famous gem sculptures from Constantinople, the so called Rubens vase, may very well have originally formed part of the personal collection of the imperial families. The sculpture dates to the late fourth or early fifth century.[12] Carved from a single piece of agate, the vase is remarkably large in view of this precious material, for it measures over seven inches high. Grapevines delicately worked in very high relief cover most of the case, and offset the finely carved low relief work. Two identical heads of Pan form the handles of the vase.

It is truly unfortunate that so few of the private commissions of the emperors have survived, for much more than the articles produced for official purposes, these private commissions permitted innovation and variety, and most significantly the expression of Christian themes.

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Since the days of Augustus the Roman emperors had traditionally concerned themselves with the building of their mausolea to insure the safety of their remains and to win a place for themselves in the minds of each succeeding age. The Christian rulers of the fourth century sought glory also, but as Christians and as the special guardians of the Church, their preparations for burial assumed an entirely new magnitude. All the fourth century emperors were buried at the church of the Holy Apostles except three: Valens whose body was never recovered from the battle of Adrianople; Gratian and Valentinian II who were both laid to rest in Milan. The mausoleum even gave final resting place to Julian, for his remains were brought to the capital from Taurus in 390 and placed in an unusual sarcophagus of cylindrical shape (Κυλινδροειδής).[13]

Today eight imperial sarcophagi of porphyry are known, but unfortunately they cannot be accurately assigned to specific emperors since they do not bear the identification of the patron.[14] These porphyry sarcophagi are totally undecorated except for an occasional cross and wreath.[15] The best preserved example of these stands in the courtyard of St. Irene, and has been generally acknowledged as that of Constantine the Great.[16] It consists of an undecorated rectangular trough carved from a single block of porphyry, surmounted by a triangularly peaked lid, bearing on the front a sculptured emblem of a Chi-Rho within a wreath and placed atop a cross.

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Traditionally, Julian's sarcophagus has been identified with the rounded sarcophagus preserved in Constantinople, but recently this has been seriously challenged by Cyril Mango's studies on imperial sarcophagi.[17] Even if this rounded sarcophagus did not belong to Julian, it is nonetheless the most interesting of all the sarcophagi for it is the largest, and is acknowledged to be an ancient Ptolemaic creation.[18] In appearance, it is very similar to the other uncarved porphyry sarcophagi and may have even served as a model for the fourth century creations. The reasons for re-using this ancient sculpture remain unclear. If we could be certain that this actually did hold Julian's body, then one might then suggest that those who transferred Julian's body had considered an ancient Egyptian sarcophagus more appropriate for the final resting place of a pagan emperor.

The most admired of all fourth century sarcophagi from Constantinople, the celebrated prince sarcophagus has been almost universally attributed to imperial patronage, even though the sculpture is worked in marble rather than porphyry. It is normally placed about A.D. 400.[19] This sarcophagus, intended for a child, has been decorated on all four sides, and the utter simplicity of the design and the unencumbered spacing of the figures place it in a category all of its own. The main friezes depict two angels, in very high relief, holding a wreath between them which surrounds a Chi-Rho cross. The two short ends portray a cross with two figures

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on either side. The conception of the main friezes as complete units, and the decoration of all four sides emphasize its totality as a cube.

The sarcophagi were of great personal importance to the emperors, but from an artistic point of view they are a disappointment. All these sarcophagi were carved in porphyry, the royal stone, insuring that the members of the imperial families would enjoy after death the same distinct style of life which they participated in during life; having been born into purple, they now were laid to rest in this sacred material.[20]

At the present, the imperial sarcophagi constitute our most important physical documents for the study of church-state relations, but in themselves they add little to the information drawn out of the literary sources. Had the mosaics, and other major decorations survived from the Constantinopolitan churches, particularly from Holy Apostles' and St. Sophia's, these works of art could have furnished invaluable details on the activities of the emperors as guardians of the Christian community in Constantinople. However, the oldest Constantinopolitan church still standing, St. John Studios, dates only to the second half of the fifth century. The capitals, columns and relief work unearthed at St. Sophia's by the German Archaeological Institute were created for the rebuilding of the church in 415.[21] Not even the literary sources have preserved detailed descriptions of the art donated by the emperors to the churches.[22]

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Although no mosaics have survived from Constantinopolitan churches, St. George's in Thessalonika still bears mosaics which were laid out in the late fourth or early fifth century. Those in the apse contain elaborate architectural elements and buildings; the human figures are totally subordinated to the looming architectural setting. The saints stand in the foreground with their hands raised in an 'orans' position, while peacocks strut across the upper tiers and cupolas of the buildings.[23]

Even the less costly gifts which the imperial families bestowed upon the churches frequently bore inscriptions which honored the patron. Pulcheria for instance, in the early fifth century dedicated a table, and splendid cloth to one of the churches and had an inscription placed upon the front of the table so that all might know the circumstances of its presentation.[24] Many of the offerings which the emperors made to the churches must have appeared embarrassingly ostentatious; Constantius, we are told, showered upon St. Sophia's finely wrought altar cloths covered with gold and pearls, and hangings of gold for the porticoes.[25] Among the most treasured possessions of the churches were the pipe organs. The emperor Julian describes in one of his epigrams, the organ at Holy Apostles which he saw as a child:

> A strange growth of reeds do I behold. Surely they sprang on a sudden from another brazen field, so wild are they. The winds that wave them are none of ours, but a blast leaps forth from a cavern of bull's hide and beneath the

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> well-bored pipes travels to their roots. And a dignified person, with swift, moving fingers of the hand, stands there and handles the keys that pass the word to the pipes; then the keys leap lightly, and press forth the melody.[26]

As private patrons, the imperial families of late antiquity promoted the arts on a truly grand scale, through their acquisition of art works for their palaces and through their lavish donations to the Christian churches. How successfully they matched the activities of their predecessors at Rome, is impossible to determine in view of the evidence, but the quality of the mosaics from the Great Palace certainly demonstrate that the workmanship even in the fifth century ranked very high.

The foundation of the new capital engendered in the imperial families an affinity with Constantinople which they fondly delineated as an actual love affair. Never at Rome had the previous Roman emperors experienced as fully this sense of cultural leadership; the public life of Constantinople revolved around the emperors and the court, and all the principal public works owed their existence to imperial patronage. In order to appreciate the motivations and enthusiasm of the emperors in their embellishment of the new capital, it is necessary to recall the awe and admiration of Constantius for the monuments, statues, and edifaces of Rome.[27] Constantinople, as the new capital, also had to possess physical beauty and become a virtual showcase of "culture." Men of the fourth century looked for external

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signs of glory and display, and so it was the physical appearance of Rome that captured Constantius' heart.

Constantine and Constantius merited the distinction of having been the city's most active patrons, and their enthusiasm certainly spurred on their successors, particularly Theodosius and Arcadius who each added his own forum with an historiated column. In retrospect, the efflorescence of Constantinople appears so natural, but in reality it was due to the personal enlightenment of Constantine, Constantius, and Theodosius as patrons of the arts; the cultural inactivity of Valens' reign indicates the mediocrity which imperial patronage could fall into under less inspired minds. As his reverence for the monuments of Rome testifies, Constantius enjoyed a deep respect for architecture and the visual arts, which, when combined with his love of Constantinople, made him the perfect individual to complete Constantine's building program.

Constantinople had no real need for an art museum, for the emperors had made the city a showcase: the imperial fora, the colonnaded avenues, the basilicas, the baths, and the Hippodrome all served as exhibit areas for countless works of art commissioned by the imperial families, and for the ancient masterpieces which they had collected. Statues, and paintings honoring the emperors could be found everywhere in the capital. The fora, as the embodiment of the res publica, embraced in theory the political and cultural life

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of both the aristocracy and the emperors, but in view of Constantinople's status as the imperial capital, the public squares were regarded as the special realm of the emperors. The major forum, ὁ Φόρος, although distinctly Roman in its aim, stood out as a unique Constantinopolitan creation because Constantine had designed the forum in an elliptical shape and enclosed it entirely with multi-storied galleries which were joined at both the east and west ends to arches serving as monumental entrances. The emperor centered his forum upon a porphyry column celebrating the foundation of the capital.

Atop the column stood a statue of Apollo-Helios with the head of Constantine.[28] This unusual pillar was formed from separate circular drums cut from porphyry, and exhibited on its base a relief depicting Constantine and Constantinople being honored by embassies of Roman citizens. Through the centuries the column has continued to be venerated as Constantine's own special memorial to himself and to his vision of establishing a new Christian capital for the empire. The statue and relief work have now vanished, but the porphyry pillar still stands where it was raised in A.D. 328.

Constantine gave his forum both a Christian and pagan orientation, for in the galleries enclosing the forum he set up twelve porphyry statues of the Olympian gods, while he decorated the eastern archway with a statuary of himself and his mother Helena with the two of them holding a large cross

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between them.[29] Later emperors continued to embellish the forum since it served as the city's principal site for publicly commemorating outstanding citizens. Constantius and Julian honored Themistius with the highest public dignity when they each ordered statues of the court orator to be placed in the forum.[30] The patriarchs of Constantinople were also exalted there by the imperial families who set up portraits of the religious leaders painted on wooden panels.[31]

The Augustaeum and the Forum of Theodosius were linked to Constantine's forum by the mese which was laid out with colonnades in the style of eastern cities. The Augustaeum centered around a porphyry column commemorating Helena. Later, Constantine, Theodosius and Eudoxia each added their own columns. Numerous works of art stood in the porticoes which encompassed the forum.[32]

In A.D. 386 Theodosius proudly undertook construction upon his own forum which he fully intended to be the most grandiose. He crowned his spacious public square with the first historiated column erected in Constantinople as a memorial to his recent victories over the Scythians.[33] The helic column became so popular that his son Arcadius commissioned an identical one for his new forum in A.D. 404. Unlike the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, which both portrayed the emperor in numerous scenes of virtus, the spiral reliefs on the Theodosian column emphasized the emperor in acts of triumph.[34] Only recently fragments of

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the relief work have been found in the wall of a bathhouse, and on the largest piece soldiers are shown bowing before the emperor. The artists carefully emphasized the army's adherence to Christianity, for they arranged the soldiers so that the shields with the Chi-Rho emblems stood conspicuously in the foreground.[35] The Augustaeum, the Forum of Constantine, and the Forum of Theodosius summarized the unique character of Constantinople as the new capital of the Christian emperors who envisioned themselves as custodians of Greek and Roman civilization, for the emperors set their own monuments amid ancient masterpieces and Christian creations. Theodosius integrated all three in the historiated column. In erecting a memorial to his own military victories, Theodosius resurrected a thoroughly Roman medium, and consciously inserted into the reliefs a reminder that the contemporary battles against the barbarians were won by armies that worshipped the Christian God.

The Hippodrome and the Baths of Zeuxippus ranked along with the fora as the city's principal showcases. The Hippodrome housed two of the most venerated treasures brought from Greece, the serpentine column dedicated at Delphi in 478 B.C. and the quadriga from the fourth century B.C. which the Venetians carried off in 1204.[36] Theodosius added to the Hippodrome's collection the capital's most ancient work of art, the obelisk of Thutmosis III commissioned by this Pharoah to celebrate his campaigns against the empire of the

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Mitanni in 1457 B.C. To guarantee that there would be no mistake regarding his achievement, Theodosius erected a base for the obelisk with inscriptions in both Greek and Latin recording his accomplishment. The Greek inscription reads: "It was only the Emperor Theodosius who succeeded in raising the four-sided column, which had ever laid as a burden to the earth. He committed the task to Proclus, and so great a column stood erect in thirty-two days."[37] Both dedications conveniently avoided any mention of Thutmosis III so as to give Theodosius all the glory. The elaborate base created for the ancient obelisk contains six sculptured panels, with the principal reliefs showing the emperor receiving gift bearing ambassadors, and presenting wreaths to the victors of the games. In both of these scenes Theodosius stands in the imperial box, while the Constantinoplitan senators stand meekly on either side of the kathisma amidst the personal bodyguard of the emperor.[38] On the lower section of the base, Theodosius proudly exhibited a scene of the actual raising of the obelisk by means of ramps and capstans.[39] We know from the inscriptions that Proclus, the prefect of the city in 390, was in charge of this project, being duly rewarded for his success by recognition in both inscriptions.

The baths of Zeuxippus and the library housed the most extensive collections of ancient works of art in the city, and although neither building qualified as a museum in the

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strict sense, nonetheless each one functioned as a public exhibit hall for the sculptures and paintings plundered from the cities and pagan sanctuaries throughout the East. Among the works which the emperors placed in the library were included ancient copies of the Aphrodite of Cnidus and the Hera of Samos.[40] By the time of the disastrous fire of A.D. 476, this library had become the largest in the Roman world, with a collection of one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts. Its prize possession consisted of an illuminated manuscript of the Iliad and Odyssey written in gold letters on a roll over forty yards long. Both its manuscript collection and its assemblage of the ancient masterpieces originated with Constantius, who founded the library in A.D. 351.[41]

The holdings in the baths of Zeuxippus date back even earlier, for Constantine remodeled the original edifice constructed by Septimius Severus and re-dedicated the baths in 330.[42] Judging from the description of the collection penned by Christodorus shortly before the baths were burnt in 532, the majority of its ancient sculptures represented Greek mythological characters.[43] One of the more interesting statues on which Christodorus gives an account was a statue of Aphrodite worked in gold:

> And another high-born Aphrodite I saw all of gold, naked, all glittering; and on the breast of the goddess, hanging from her neck, fell in coils the flowing cestus.[44]

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The plundering of art treasures from Greek cities was not a new phenomenon of late antiquity, but until the conversion of Constantine religious sentiment had protected those works actually dedicated in sanctuaries or temples. As a pagan observer of these unprecedented sackings, Ammianus Marcellinus could not restrain himself from inserting into his history a discreet censure of Constantine for having torn down the temple of the Sun God in Thebes, in order to remove the obelisk which Augustus had not dared to disturb.[45] Although the Christian emperors did not hesitate to despoil these shrines, they nevertheless passed legislation against the actual destruction of the temples or their art treasures. Even the zealous Theodosius respected the cultural value of these paintings and sculptures.[46] The deep attachment which the emperors experienced for these objects can be seen in the fact that they set these masterpieces on display in the principal gathering spots of the capital; for once removed from their religious setting in pagan temples, the art of Greece and Rome could become an essential aspect of the intellectual life of Constantinople.

Traditionally the sources portray Constantine as the great collector of these classical paintings and sculptures, but this image of Constantine derives from the interpolated Vita Constantini and from sources of the fifth century or later, so that it is impossible to assess the true role of each of the fourth century emperors.[47] Contemporary

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documents definitely indicate, however, that the successors of Constantine continued to gather antique works of art: Constantius and Julian both endeavored to convey to the new capital the Egyptian obelisk which Theodosius finally succeeded in bringing to the Hippodrome.[48] Moreover, Ammianus clearly testifies to Constantius' profound regard for the ancient monuments of Rome which must have led him to incorporate the art of Greece and Rome among the jewels which he presented to Constantinople.

A special category of civic art involves the portraits, and paintings, medallions, gems, and anniversary dishes which were mass produced in the imperial workshops for distribution as symbols of imperial authority, as commemorations of specific state events, and as official gifts.[49] Unlike the major public executions which constituted unique creations, these mass-produced items seldom required the personal attention of the emperors, and were entrusted instead to the head officials in the imperial workshops. Inasmuch as each of these works of art bore the image of the emperor, they could only be produced under conditions as strictly regulated as in the imperial mints. Since the portraits and medallions formed an essential aspect of court life, the organization of the workshops dated back to the reign of Constantine, which the mint marks on his medallions verify.[50] It appears that the artists in the state factories at Constantinople were requisitioned mainly from the older centers in the East,

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especially Asia Minor and Antioch.[51] The craftsmen connected with the imperial workshops enjoyed special privileges and certainly more prestige than the ordinary artisans; the most eminent among them received the honor of signing their products as can be seen in the case of the Romulus sardonyx in Leningrad.[52]

The very function of civic art lay in the glorification of the emperor, and thus the most elaborate pieces present the emperor in the fullness of his power, wearing the sacred diadem and lavish silk robes studded with precious stones. In that each article bore the image of the emperor, each carried with it a sacred character and required a formal presentation or solemn dedication. Those placed in public areas necessitated special concern in order to insure that the imperial images would not be dishonored by offensive surroundings, and thus Theodosius forbade placing imperial images next to those of an actor of pantomines or a charioteer or a contemptible actor.[53] Statues or any imperatoria simulacra legally required the same veneration as the very person of the emperor. The conversion of Constantine did not seriously alter this tradition, except to endorse the fine distinction between "adoration" and "worship," which regarded the former as a simple gesture of respect.[54] On the popular level, however, Christians sometimes failed to comprehend this distinction so that it is reported that some actually offered prayers and sacrifices to the statue of Constantine as if he were divine.[55]

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Imperial statues were customarily accompanied by an inscription on the statue base which identified the emperor, and the occasion for the monument; two such inscribed bases have been found in the baths of Hadrian at Aphrodisias.[56] Without the preservation of these dedications for the statues from Constantinople, the assignation of the extant sculptures to individual emperors can only be made by a stylistic analysis. This criterion however, proves to be very hazardous, since the portraits of the emperors tend to be so similar due to their mass-production in the tradition bound workshops. The identity of several statues, however, seem reasonably secure. The colossal bronze head of Constantius now at the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome belonged originally to a statue commissioned by the emperor for the commemoration of his triumph in Rome during the year A.D. 357; it formed, together with the Egyptian obelisk erected in the Circus Maximus the principal gifts which Constantius presented to the eternal city. According to Delbrueck, this sculpture stems from an eastern workshop, most probably Constantinople.[57] In all likelihood the emperor's decision to have this outstanding sculpture produced in the East sprung from a desire to impress upon the Romans the excellent craftsmanship available to the Christian emperors in Constantinople and Antioch. We know that Constantius demonstrated remarkable pride in the new capital and always preferred to retain it as the administrative center of the

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empire even after becoming sole emperor in 351. It would certainly be in keeping with his sentiments towards Rome and Constantinople to have such an important memorial created by artists from the East.[58] The colossus, which apparently was set up originally in the Colosseum, measured five times life-size and portrayed Constantius standing with his right hand resting on a sword, and his left holding a globe.[59] Since only the head, left hand and globe have survived, it is uncertain whether Constantius was shown wearing military garb or the chlamys.

The marble head of the emperor Julian in a private collection in Jerusalem is remarkable as an imperial portrait both for its smallness and for its use of the plain diadem. The sculpture, most probably a product of the imperial workshops at Antioch, measures only 0.115 m. from the neck to the crown of the head, which suggests that it may have been designed as a personal gift rather than for public display.[60] Unlike the jeweled diadem customarily worn by the Christian emperors since 330, the pagan emperor is here shown with the diadem of the Hellenistic monarchs, and some have interpreted this as part of Julian's attempt to align himself with the rulers of the Hellenistic world in an effort to rekindle "the spirit of Hellenism."[61]

The best preserved imperial statue from Constantinople now stands in Barletta in the south of Italy where it was carried by the crusaders after the Latin conquest. Delbrueck

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considered this colossal statue to be the image of Marcian (450-457), but many now prefer to follow Kollwitz's more recent assignation to Valentinian I.[62] The bronze colossus measures three times life-size and portrays the emperor as a military commander. Because of its almost perfect condition, the sculpture serves as a major document for the study of late Roman imperial garb; only the sceptre or sword is missing which Valentinian held aloft in his right hand. The emperor stands with his left foot slightly forward, supporting a globe in the palm of his left hand. His imperial garb includes a diadem of jewels encompassed in a double strand of pearls, and a chlamys fastened with a fibula, two tunics, a mantle, and a suit of armor.[63]

The anniversary dishes, cameos, and medallions as objects de luxe lent themselves more than the statues to the representation of the emperor in the richly adorned state robes. The silver platter of Constantius celebrating the emperor's Vicennalia in 343 shows both the emperor and his horse dressed out in the most elaborate of apparel. Constantius wears a silk tunic heavily laden with jewels, with shoes ornamented with pearls and other precious stones, and a girdle and a balteus set with gems.[64] The artist has not only crowned Constantius with the sacred diadem, but has even added the nimbus. The missorium of Theodosius also presents the emperor with the nimbus, but instead of the lavish display of gems found on Constantius' vestments,

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Theodosius' robes have been decorated with intricate embroidery.[65]

Of the numerous engraved gems and cameos executed at the eastern court, two deserve particular attention for the excellence of their craftsmanship, and for the image of imperial authority which they convey. The cameo in the private collection of Baron de Rothschild in Paris sets forth the delicately sculptured busts of Constantius and his wife.[66] In the style of the early empire, the artist has arranged the imperial couple in a full frontal pose, and scrupulously worked out the details of their vestments and coiffures. The insertion of the Chi-Rho symbol in the center piece of Constantius' diadem has been interpreted by Gerda Bruns as the most complete statement of late Roman absolutism: "Wenn man will, kann man in dem Christogramm des Diadems die erste leise Vorahnung der Wandlung vom spätantiken Dominat zur byzantinischen Theokratie sehen."[67]

The other outstanding example of imperial glyptic arts, the engraved gem of Constantius spearing a wild boar, contains the inscription "CONSTANTIUS AUG" around the upper rim and "ΚΕΣΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑ" written around the lower edge immediately below the personification of the city of Caesarea.[68] The use of ground lines and the portrayal of the boar in three quarter view give this sapphire gem an almost three dimensional quality. Most imperial gems from this era simply bear a profile portrait of the emperor, and

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thus the depiction of Constantius as a huntsman demonstrates that the workshops of the fourth century were not unfamiliar with favorite motifs from the early empire.

The medallions, however, verify most fully the continuation of the classical tradition by the new Christian court at Constantinople. The personifications of cities, as well as genii, and symbols of Peace, Prosperity, and Virtue have replaced the traditional pagan gods. Yet it was an adaptation to the new faith which involved only an external alteration, for the spirit remained entirely classical. Thus the magnificent medallions of the Christian emperors reiterate the same message set forth by those of earlier rulers and the emperor Julian: Victoria, Gaudium Romanorum, Pietas, Salus, Gloria Reipublicae.

The "Roma and Constantinopolis" series of gold medallions, with the two cities enthroned side by side on the reverse, clearly reflect the attempt of the emperors to equate the new capital with Rome. The series extends from Constantius to Arcadius, apparently having been first struck for the celebration of Constantius' Vicennalia in A.D. 343.[69] The development of "Constantinopolis" in the art of the fourth century marks a high point of originality in civic art. It captured so fully the aspirations of the pagan and Christian community alike that Julian and the pagan usurper Eugenius both struck medallions at Constantinople utilizing this motif.[70]

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To pagans and Christians alike Constantinople represented a center of Greek and Roman civilization, and the mutual commitment to culture permitted them to transcend all religious differences and unite in a love of the new city. Thus, the emperor Julian could boast that his feelings towards Constantinople surpassed his predecessor's; whereas Constantius cherished Constantinople as a sister, Julian loved the city as his own mother. As a result he anxiously desired to convey the Egyptian obelisk to the capital in order to add to the beauty of his motherland.[71] Hence the promotion of the visual arts by the emperors and the aristocracy cannot be understood in terms of a cultural conflict between Christians and pagans; instead it is a cultural rivalry between Old and New Rome. The dedication to culture and tradition absorbed and negated the religious differences of the Constantinopolitans and prompted them to engage in a program of art patronage that elevated Constantine's frontier city into a second city of the Roman empire.

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NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

[1]Erwin Fenster, Laudes Constantinopolitanae (München 1968) p. 34; The inspiration for these lofty thoughts stemmed without doubt from Constantine, but it was Constantius who developed most fully this concept of a love relationship. Subsequent emperors preserved this appealing image, as Fenster documents, p. 34, note 3.

[2]Mac Mullen, AB 46 (1964) pp. 435-455 esp. p. 436; Lavin, AB 44 (1962) pp. 7, 10-11, and 16.

Consult András Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des Monarischen Zeremonials am römischen Kaiserhofe," MDAI(R) 49 (1934) pp. 1-118; and András Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," MADI(R) 50 (1935) pp. 1-158.

[3]XII Panegyrici Latini: 3(XI)11,4 delivered by Claudius Mamertinus on January 1, 362 before the emperor Julian.

[4]Great Palace, First Report, pp. 31-32 on late Roman pottery; p. 10 on columns from the peristyle court; p. 10, plate 9,1 and plate 13,1 on the one complete capital, which is dated ca. 404-415; p. 11 on the bases of columns; p. 12 on parts of the entablature; Great Palace, Second Report, pp. 168-193 on excavations concerning fourth or fifth century structures.

For bibliography in general on the imperial palaces see also Byvanck, "Rome en Copel," note 111; Jean Ebersolt, Le grand palais de Constantinople et le Livre des cérémonies (Paris 1910), pp. viii-ix; Feridun Dirimtekin, "Les Palais impériaux byzantins," Corsi 12 (1965), pp. 225-246.

[5]Kollwitz, Oströmische Plastik, plate 15, dated 4th to 5th c; he thinks it originally constituted an interior decoration of the Great Palace, showing probably an emperor receiving a palm; Mendel, Catalogue #667.

See also Byvanck, "Rome en Copel," p. 109, note 154.

On rotae from the Great Palace, see Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, pp. 148-149. On lion heads that probably adorned the imperial throne, see Peirce, Art, vol. 1, plate 17, dated to 4th or 5th c; See also Matthiae, RIASA n.s. 15 (1968) pp. 78-82; In addition Delvoye, Corsi 14 (1967) pp. 90-93.

[6]Ebersolt, Le grand Palais, p. 49, note 1; Ebersolt has collected all the sources relating to the decoration of the palace; Dalton, Byzantine Art, p. 123, mentions a statue of Christ erected by Constantine in the Chalce.

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[7]Great Palace, First Report, pp. 64-97, 15-20, 91-93. Great Palace, Second Report, pp. 121-160.

Byvanck, "Rome en Copel," p. 108 dates them to the time of Theodosius II.

D. Talbot Rice, "Excavations in the Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors," ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΕΝΑ ΤΟΥ Α' ΔΙΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ, vol. 1 (1953), pp. 468-473, where Rice reasserts a date between 410-420.

[8]Great Palace, Second Report, p. 124, plate 45, and color plate B, p. 128.

[9]Great Palace, Second Report, pp. 130, 144, and color plate c.

[10]Great Palace, First Report, pp. 87-91.

[11]Ibid.

[12]M. C. Ross, "The Rubens Vase: Its History and Date," Journal of the Walters Art Gallery 6 (1943), pp. 9-39.

[13]Grierson, DOP 16 (1962), pp. 23-26; Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, pp. 219-227; Cyril Mango, "Three Imperial Byzantine Sarcophagi Discovered in 1750," DOP 16 (1962), pp. 397-402.

A. A. Vasiliev, "Imperial Porphyry Sarcophagi in Constantinople," DOP 4 (1948), pp. 1-26; Jean Ebersolt, "Sarcophages Impériaux de Roma et de Constantinople," BZ 30 (1929-1930), pp. 582-587.

[14]Mango, DOP 16 (1962) pp. 397-402.

Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, p. 219, Tafel 107 cites a fragment from a porphyry sarcophagus worked in high relief. It is very similar to the sarcophagus of Constantina in Rome and may have originally come from Rome: see also note 65 of Chapter II.

[15]Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, Tafeln 107, 108, 109, and 110.

[16]Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, Tafel 108, pp. 221-227.

[17]Mango, DOP 16 (1962) pp. 401-402 with full bibliography.

[18]Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, Tafel 107.

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[19]Arif Müfid Mansel, Ein Prinzensarkophag aus Istanbul (Istanbul 1934); Byvanck, "Rome en Copel," p. 109, note 153; Grabar, Sculptures, plate 7, p. 32; Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art, p. 65; A. C. Soper, "The Latin Style on Christian Sarcophagi of the Fourth Century," AB 19 (1937), p. 195, figures 52-54.

[20]Meyer Reinhold, "History of Purple As A Status Symbol in Antiquity," Collection Latomus 116 (1970), pp. 59, 63, note 2; Cf. William T. Avery, "The Adoratio Purpurae and the Importance of the Imperial Purple in the Fourth Century of the Christian Era," MAAR 17 (1940), pp. 66-80.

[21]On St. John Studios see Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, p. 78.

On the art from St. Sophia's, see A. M. Schneider, "Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul," Istanbuler Forschungen 12 (1941), pp. 8-16, plates 12-22, the most interesting discovery was the frieze work with rows of lambs; Sven Larsen, "A Forerunner of Hagia Sophia," AJA 41, ser. 2 (1937), pp. 1-5; A. M. Schneider, "Die Vorjustinianische Sophienkirche," BZ 36 (1936), pp. 71-85; A. M. Schneider, "Neue Arbeiten An Der Hagia Sophia," AA 50 (1935), pp. 305-311.

The best introduction to Constantinopolitan church building and the role of Constantine's successors in these projects is Glanville Downey, "The builder of the original Church of the Apostles at Constantinople. A contribution to the criticism of the Vita Constantini attributed to Eusebius." DOP 6 (1951) pp. 55-80; Downey firmly establishes the contribution of Constantius.

For a list of the imperially subsidized churches in fourth century Constantinople see Armstrong, Gesta 6 (1967) pp. 1-9 with extensive bibliography.

There are five churches that can be firmly established by the sources:

A. The Church of St. Sophia's
Janin, Les Églises, pp. 471-485.

B. The Church of Hagia Eirene.
Janin, Les Églises, pp. 108-111.

C. The Church of the Holy Apostles (including the imperial mausoleum).
Janin, Les Églises, pp. 46-55.

D. The Church of St. Acacius in Heptascalon.
Janin, Les Églises, pp. 17-19.

E. The Church of the Archangel Michael at Anaplus.
Janin, Les Églises, pp. 349-351.

There are five others that are debated:

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A. The Church of St. Acacius in Karya.
Armstrong, Gesta 6 (1967) p. 7.
B. The Church of the Archangel Michael at Sosthenium.
Janin, Les Églises, p. 349.
C. The Church of St. Mocius.
Janin, Les Églises, pp. 367-371.
D. The Church of St. Menas.
Janin, Les Églises, pp. 345-347.
E. The Church of St. Agathonicus.
Janin, Les Églises, pp. 11-13.

[22]Eusebius, De Vita Constantini 4,58 mentions multicolored marble slabs on the walls, and gilded ceilings; cited also by Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture; Also see Bettini, Corsi 2 (1965) pp. 7-15.

[23]Byvanck, "Rome en Copel," p. 108, and notes 149-150.
Guglielmo Matthiae, "La cultura figurativa di Salonicco nei secoli V and VI," RAC 38 (1962) pp. 163-213, and figures 11-12; Hans Peter L'Orange, "I mosaici della cupola di Hagios Georgios a Salonicco," Corsi 17 (1970) pp. 257-268.
Torp, "Quelques remarques sur les mosaïques de l'eglise Saint-Georges a Thessalonique," ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΕΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΔΙΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ, vol. 1, pp. 489-498, dates them to the era of Theodosius the Great.
Stylianos Pelekanidis, "Gli affreschi paleocristiani ed i più antichi mosaici parietali di Salonicco," Collana di Quaderni di antichitá' Ravennati, Cristiane, e Bizantine 2 (1963), pp. 33-59, figures 4-5; Andréas Xyngopoulos, Thessalonique et la peinture macédonienne (Athens 1955), plate 11,2 and chapter 1, pp. 1-8;
For a general treatment of the archeological discoveries at Thessalonika begin with Ch. Diehl, Les Monuments chrétiens de Salonique (Paris 1918); and Oreste Tafrali, Topographie de Théssalonique (Paris 1913).

[24]Sozomen, Historia Ecclesiastica (ed. Migne) 9,1. See also 9,2,4 - 9,2,5 on a reliquary casket which Pulcheria donated.

[25]Janin, Les Églises, p. 472, note 6, for full citation of primary sources.

[26]Quoted from Wilmer Cave Wright, Julian. An English Translation (Loeb Classical Library, New York 1913) Epigram II, vol. 3, pp. 305-306.

[27]Consult note 5 of Chapter I.

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[28]Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, p. 140, Abb. 57-59, Tafel 68; Janin, Constantinople byzantine, pp. 81-84, and 64-69; Mango, DOP 17 (1963) p. 57, note 13.

Consult also Cyril Mango, "Constantinopolitana," JDAI 80 (1965) pp. 306-313, figures 1-3; and Byvanck, "Rome en Copel," pp. 102-103.

E. Dalleggio D'Alessio, "Les fouilles archéologiques au pied de la colonne de Constantin à Constantinople," Echos d'Orient 29 (1930), pp. 339-341; André Grabar, L'Empereur dans L'art byzantin (Paris 1936), plate 40.

[29]Janin, Constantinople byzantine, pp. 67-69; Byvanck, "Rome en Copel," pp. 102-103.

[30]Jones, Prosopography, p. 892 (it is usually presumed that it was Julian who erected the second).

[31]Janin, Constantinople byzantine, pp. 68-69: presumably the successors of Constantine continued this practice.

[32]Janin, Constantinople byzantine, pp. 65-67, and 71-81.

[33]Byvanck, "Rome en Copel," p. 103, note 130; Semavi Eyice, "Neue Fragmente der Theodosiussaule," MDAI(1) 8 (1958) pp. 144-147; Guilio Quirino Giglioli, La colonna di Arcadio a Constantinopoli. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli, Memorie 2 (1952) pp. 1-72, figures 2-7.

See also Kollwitz, Oströmische Plastik, Tafeln 5-9; and David Talbot Rice and Casson, Second Report upon the Excavations carried out near the Hippodrome of Constantinople (London 1929); and Janin, Constantinople byzantine, pp. 84-87.

[34]Kollwitz, Oströmische Plastik, pp. 63-69.

[35]Grabar, Sculptures, plate 6.

[36]Mango, DOP 17 (1963) pp. 56-57, and p. 58, note 17; also Janin, Constantinople byzantine, p. 180.

[37]Erik Iversen, Obelisks in Exile, Volume 2: The Obelisks of Istanbul and England (Copenhagen 1972), pp. 9-33, plates 6-14, with translation of the Greek inscription by Iverson, p. 13; Gerda Bruns, "Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel," Istanbuler Forschungen 7 (1935), pp. 1-86, Abbildung 1-89.

Consult also Byvanck, "Rome en Copel," p. 109, note 157; Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, plates 85-88, pp. 185-190 who thinks the sculptures are from the time of Valentinian I, Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian II. The obelisk

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does seem to have been prepared for transportation by Constantine the Great, then Constantius and later Julian. Constantius apparently planned to present it to Constantinople at the time he bestowed the Lateran Obelisk upon Rome; Kollwitz, Oströmische Plastik, pp. 81ff.

L'Orange, Porträts, Tafeln 172-174, 176, 178-180; De Loos-Dietz, Ivoren, pp. 68-73 dates the reliefs to A.D. 390-396.

[38]Bruns, Istanbuler Forschungen 7 (1935) Abb. 37-43, and 77-85. See Mendel, Catalogue, #1136 for Theodosius' sphinx.

[39]Ibid. Abbildung 51-61.

[40]Janin, Constantinople byzantine, pp. 161-162; Dalton, Byzantine Art, p. 122, note 5.

[41]James Westfall Thompson, The Medieval Library (New York 1957), pp. 313ff; Janin, Constantinople byzantine, pp. 161-162.

[42]Janin, Constantinople byzantine, pp. 215-217.

[43]Mango, DOP 17 (1963) pp. 57-58.

[44]Quoted from Anthologia Graeca Palatina. An English Translation by W. R. Paton (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass. 1939) II, 99-101, vol. 1, p. 67.

[45]Ammianus Marcellinus 27,4,12 - 13.

[46]Chester G. Starr, Civilization and the Caesars, The Intellectual Revolution in the Roman Empire (Ithaca 1954) pp. 339-340; see also Codex Theodosianus 16,10,1 - 16,10,25.

[47]Christian Gottlob Heyne, "Priscae Artis Opera Quae Constantinopoli Extitisse Memorantur Sectio I and II," Commentationes Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Gottingensis (Kaiserliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen) ser 3, 11 (1791-1792), pp. 3-38 which Mango also cites in his article. The contemporary sources are vague, and it is only in the fifth century that Constantine begins to receive all the credit for assemblage of these masterpieces.

Consult also Christian Gottlob Heyne, "Serioris Artis Opera Quae Sub Imperatoribus Byzantinis Facta Memorantur Sectio I and II," Commentationes Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Gottingensis (Kaiserliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen) Ser 3, 11 (1791-1792), pp. 39-62.

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[48]Iversen, Obelisks in Exile, vol. 2, pp. 10-12.

[49]Grabar, L'Empereur dans l'art, pp. 4-30, and 123-162.

[50]Charles Delvoye, "Les Aeteliers d'arts somptuaires à Constantinople," Corsi 12 (1965) pp. 171-210 who argues that the workshops must date to the era of Constantine. Compare also Toynbee, Numismatic Studies 5 (1944) pp. 54-55; Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 67-70.

[51]Kollwitz, Oströmische Plastik, p. 102.

[52]Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 68, 211-214, and Tafel 111.

[53]Codex Theodosianus, 15,7,12; see also 15,4,1 and 9,40,17.

On late Roman imperial dress begin with the lucid article by Richard Delbrueck, "Der Spätantike Kaiserornat," Die Antike 8 (1932), pp. 1-21, who believes the elaborate garments of the late Roman emperors derive directly from Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic monarchs, esp. pp. 18-21. This article was later incorporated into his essay on the diadem of the fourth century: Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 53-66; The development of imperial dress from the republic to late antiquity is presented by Alföldi, MDAI(R) 68, esp. 25-68; also consult the survey by W. Ensslin, "The End of the Principate," part 3: "The Court and Its Ceremonial Dress and Insignia," Cambridge Ancient History (1965), vol. 12, pp. 361-366.

[54]Setton, Christian Attitudes towards the Emperor, pp. 196-211; See also Sozomen, Historia Ecclesiastica, 5,17 who mentions that Julian cleverly attempted to force the people to worship both himself and the gods by placing images of Mars and Jupiter next to his own portraits.

Chrysostom, In Inscriptionem Altaris et In Principium Actorum I = PG 3, pt. 1 (51), col. 71 where he mentions that imperial pictures were accompanied by the name of the emperor, while below the picture were shown the emperor's triumphs and victories.

McGeachy, Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, p. 97 notes that Theodosius sent his portraits to Symmachus.

[55]Setton, Christian Attitudes towards the Emperor, p. 204, notes 24-25.

[56]Kollwitz, Oströmische Plastik, #1; Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 195-198, plate 92.

In addition see Maurizio Bonicatti, "Per una introduzione alla cultura mediobizantina di Constantinopli," RIASA, n.s., vol. 9 (1960) pp. 207-265.

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[57]Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 139-144, Tafeln 52 - 54, Abb. 39-41: he assigns it to an eastern workshop and thinks Constantinople probably, p. 142.

[58]See Jones, The Later Roman Empire, vol. 1, pp. 132-133, and vol. 2, p. 688.

[59]Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 141-142.

[60]R. Jonas, "A Newly Discovered Portrait of the Emperor Julian," AJA 50 (1946), pp. 277-282, pl. 13-15; Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art, pp. 404-405.

[61]Jonas, AJA 50 (1946) p. 281.

[62]Kollwitz, Oströmische Plastik, #21, who thinks it is Valentinian I from Constantinople; Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art, p. 357, who thinks it is Valentinian I and from the East, probably Constantinople; Grabar, Kunst, p. 221, plate 247, assigned to Valentinian I; Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 219-225, Tafeln 116-120, thinks it is Marcian; he asserts the statue was moved by the Venetians to Barletta.

[63]Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 220-221.

[64]Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 147-151, Tafel 57. Delbrueck reasons that since two other commemorative plates of Constantius (Tafeln 55-56) mention his Vicennalia, so this one was probably also produced for that anniversary; See Grabar, Kunst, plate 347, dated ca. 350 from Constantinople.

[65]Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 200, Tafeln 94-98; Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen #62, pp. 235-242 who believes it originated in Constantinople or Thessalonika; and argues that it was probably produced for Theodosius' Decennalia dated January 19, 388.

Garbar, Kunst, p. 304, plates 348-351: attributes it to Constantinople (with ?) and dates it A.D. 379-395.

Beckwith, Chx Byz Art, plate 60: attributes it to Theodosius' Decennalia.

[66]The most recent and most exhaustive study of this extraordinary piece consists of E. Coche de la Ferté, Le Camée Rothschild, un chef-d'oeuvre du IV[e] siècle après J.-C. (Paris 1957): it is identified as Constantius and his second wife Eusebia. Beckwith, Chx Byz Art, plate 62 also identifies it as Constantius.

The earlier studies generally assigned it to Honorius and his wife Maria: thus Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 206-207, Tafel 105 and again his Consulardiptychen #66, pp. 258-261.

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Bruns, Winckelmannsprogram 104 (1948) pp. 31-34, Abb. 27 also prefers Honorius and Maria because of the Chi-Rho in the diadem; she thinks that this probably fits best the religious spirit of the late fourth century.

Richter, Gems #612, p. 125 follows Delbrueck and assigns it to Honorius and Maria.

[67]Bruns, Winckelmannsprogram 104 (1948), p. 34.

[68]Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 152-153, Tafel 74,1: considers it a product of the Eastern Roman empire; and dates it ca. 350.

[69]Toynbee, JRS 37 (1947) p. 138 who cites extensive documentation for the "Roma and Constantinopolis" series. Consult also Gnecchi, Medaglioni, vol. 1, p. 30, #12, plate 11,5 which presents on of the earliest pieces struck with this motif.

See also the Catalogue for Constantinople, Part VI for other medallions from Constantinople.

[70]Gnecchi, Medaglioni, vol. 1, p. 34, #1 for Julian; and p. 38, #1, plate 19,9 for Eugenius.

[71]Julian, Epistle 58 (edition Hertlein, Leipzig 1875).

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A PREFACE TO THE TWO CATALOGUES

The Catalogues provide a listing of additional works of art that can be reasonably assigned to either Rome or Constantinople in the period 337-395. The catalogues constitute a supplement to the text and the notes. Artifacts that have been discussed in either the text or the notes are not repeated here. No attempt has been made at compiling a complete corpus of extant pieces. Some works of art which have been cited in the two catalogues have not been directly assigned to either city by the various scholars; nonetheless, in my opinion, these pieces should be considered as products of either Rome or Constantinople. The book-abbreviations may be found in the Table of Abbreviations at the beginning of the thesis.

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Part I . Large-scale sculptures in marble or bronze.

1. Colossal head in marble.

L'Orange, Porträts, #95, Tafel 184: Rome, dated as "close to the era of Theodosius I."

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 137-139, Tafeln 50-51: Rome; represents Constantius II as a Caesar; dated ca. A.D. 330.

2. Marble head of Constans (?).

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 155-158, Tafel 60: probably from Rome; represents Constans (?); dated A.D. 340-350.

L'Orange, Porträts, #98, Tafel 188: dated to era of Theodosius I.

3. Colossal portrait in marble of a private citizen.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, Tafel 61: not discussed, but assigned stylistically to portraits of Constantine II.

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L'Orange, Porträts, #76, Tafeln 148-149: represents either Crispus or Constantine II.

Helbig, Führer, Vol. 2, #1490: found on the Esquiline; represents Crispus (?).

4. Marble head of a woman related to the House of Constantine (?)

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 172-173: Tafel 71: probably from Rome; represents a female member of the Constantinian House (?); dated ca. A.D. 350 (?).

5. Marble head of a woman related to the House of Constantine (?)

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 173-174, Tafel 72: perhaps from Rome; represents a woman of the Constantinian House (?); dates after A.D. 350.

6. Marble bust of Magnentius.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 175-177, Tafeln 76-77: Rome; represents Magnentius, ca. A.D. 353.

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7. Marble head of Valentinian I.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 178-179, Tafel 78: Rome; represents Valentinian I; dates after A.D. 364.

8. Bronze head of Valens from the Ponte Sisto (fragments).

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 182, Tafel 80: Rome; represents Valens; dates ca. A.D. 365-366.

9. Colossal marble head of Valens.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 183, Tafel 81: Rome; dated after A.D. 364.

L'Orange, Porträts, #100, Tafeln 190-191: represents Gratian, A.D. 375-383.

10. Marble head of Valens.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 184, Tafeln 82-84: Rome; represents Valens; dates ca. A.D. 375.

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11. Marble head of an empress of the Valentinian House (?).

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 192, Tafel 89: Rome; represents empress of the Valentinian House (?); dates ca. A.D. 370.

12. Marble head of Gratian.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 193-195 Tafel 90-91: Rome; represents Gratian; dates after A.D. 380.

13. Marble head of Arcadius.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 204-206, Tafel 103: probably from Rome; represents Arcadius, ca. A.D. 400.

L'Orange, Porträts, #96, Tafeln 185-186: from Rome; dated to era of Theodosius I.

14. Fragment of a marble head of an emperor with the diadem.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 208-209, Tafel 107: probably from Rome; dates about A.D. 400, represents Honorius.

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L'Orange, Porträts, #97, Tafel 187: from Italy; dated to the era of Theodosius I.

15. Marble head of a man, perhaps an emperor(?).

Helbig, Führer, Vol. 2, #1199: provenance not assigned; dated 4th century.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 210-211, Tafeln 109-110: provenance not assigned; dated about A.D. 415 (?); perhaps represents Constantius III (?).

16. Marble portrait of a private citizen, the so called "Poppaea" bust.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 234-236, Tafeln 124-126: Rome; Poppaea (?); ca. A.D. 380 (?).

17. Marble portrait bust of a toga statue.

L'Orange, Porträts, #102, Tafeln 194-195: found on the Via Appia; dated "close to the era of Theodosius I."

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18. Marble portrait bust.

L'Orange, Porträts, #103, Tafeln 197-198: provenance not assigned; dated as "close to the era of Theodosius I."

19. Marble portrait bust.

L'Orange, Porträts, #106, Tafel 196: provenance not assigned; dated to the era of Theodosius I.

20. Marble portrait bust.

L'Orange, Porträts, #90, Tafel 165: provenance not assigned; dated A.D. 325-360.

Helbig, Führer, Vol. 1, #358: provenance not assigned; perhaps represents an emperor of the Constantinian House; dated 4th century.

21. Marble portrait bust.

L'Orange, Porträts, #101, Tafeln 192-193: obtained in Rome; dated to the era of Theodosius I.

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22. Marble head of a man, probably an emperor.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #9, plate 8: bought in Rome; dated 4th century; in a private collection; not included in the works of Delbrueck or L'Orange.

23. Marble head of an emperor with the diadem, in Detroit.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #4, plate 8: provenance not assigned; dated 4th century; not included in the works of Delbrueck or L'Orange.

24. Marble head of an emperor in St. Louis, with a laurel crown.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #3, plate 6: found in Rome; dated 4th century; an excellent piece; not included in the works of Delbrueck or L'Orange.

25. Marble head of a satyr.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #17,pl.6: provenance not assigned; 4th century.

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26. Statue of a seated man wearing a toga.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #23, plate 5: provenance not assigned; 4th century.

27. Marble head of a satyr.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition,#16,pl.7; provenance not assigned; 4th century.

28. Head of a woman.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 49, Abbildung 19: provenance not assigned, now in the Museo Capitolino; dated middle of 4th century; probably represents a private citizen.

29. Head of a woman.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 49, Abbildung 20: provenance not assigned; now in the Museo Torlonia; dated middle of 4th century; probably represents a private citizen.

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30. Larger than life size toga statue.

Helbig, Führer, Vol. 3, #2374: Rome; 3rd or 4th century.

31. Head of an emperor, probably Arcadius.

Helbig, Führer, Vol. 2, #2069: from Rome; late 4th century; this head is very similar to Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, Tafeln 103-104 and L'Orange, Porträts, Tafeln 185-187.

32. Portrait head of a man, found on the Palatine.

Helbig, Führer, Vol. 2, #2094: found in Rome, yet Helbig assigns it to an eastern workshop on the basis of style; dated late 3rd or early 4th century; not included in the works of L'Orange or Delbrueck.

33. Colossal head of a man.

Helbig, Führer, Vol. 1, #10: provenance not assigned; dated second half of 4th century.

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L'Orange, Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture, p. 118, Tafel 91: dated early middle ages.

Kaschnitz-Weinberg, Sculpture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano, #739, p. 300, plate 114: provenance not assigned; dated post-Constantinian, noting its stylistic similarities to late 4th century portraits.

34. Portrait head of a young man.

Helbig, Führer, Vol. 1, #1114: provenance not assigned; dated as first quarter of 4th century.

35. Portrait head of a woman.

Helbig, Führer, Vol. 1, #1109: provenance not assigned; dated Constantinian; similar to the empress Galeria Valeria, wife of Galerius.

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Part II : Porphyry sculptures.

1. Porphyry bust of Constantine II in the Vatican.

   Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, pp. 103-104, Tafeln 45-46: provenance not assigned; known to be in Rome since 1738; probably Constantine II.

2. Colossal porphyry toga statue.

   Helbig, Führer, Vol. 2, #2070: found in 1937 in Rome; uncertain dating.

3. Porphyry base from the Catacombs of Pamphilus.

   Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, p. 185, Abbildung 92: Rome; 4th century (?).

4. Inscription inlaid with porphyry, from the Catacombs of Pamphilus.

   Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, pp. 150-151, Abbildung 65: Rome; 4th century.

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5. Porphyry capital.

Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, p. 146, Abbildung 61: Rome; 4th century (?).

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Part III: Inscriptional evidence of statues erected in Aristocratic homes.

1. CIL, Vol. 6, 1690, a base with a dedication for a statue to L. Aradius Valerius Proculus; erected by the corpus suariorum et confectuariorum in the Domus Valeriorum.

   Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 3, p. 115.
   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 747-749.

2. CIL, Vol. 6, 1691, a base with a dedication for a statue to L. Aradius Valerius Proculus; erected in the Domus Valeriorum by the city of Puteoli.

   Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 3, pp. 115-116.

3. CIL, Vol. 6, 1692, a base with a dedication for a statue to L. Aradius Valerius Proculus; erected in the Domus Valeriorum by the collegium pistorum.

   Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 3, p. 116.

4. CIL, Vol. 6, 1693, a base with a dedication for a statue to L. Aradius Valerius Proculus; erected in the Domus Valeriorum by the corpus suariorum et confectuariorum.

   Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 3, p. 116.

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5. CIL, Vol. 6, 1694, a fragment of a base, with a dedication for a statue to L. Aradius Valerius Proculus; uncertain provenance.

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 3, p. 116.

6. CIL, Vol. 6, 1704, a base (with the statue preserved); dedication to C. Caelius Saturninus; erected in Domus Caelii Saturnini by his son C. Flavius Caelius Urbanus.

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, pp. 386-387.

L'Orange, Porträts, #92, Tafel 167 for the portrait, dated ca. A.D. 323-337; portrait attached to a statue of an earlier period.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 806.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 41-42, not shown; dated mid 4th century.

7. CIL, Vol. 6, 1705, a base with a dedication to C. Caelius Saturninus; erected in the Domus Caelii Saturnini by his son C. Flavius Caelius Urbanus.

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, p. 387.

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8. CIL, Vol. 6, 1739, on a fragment of marble with a dedication for a statue to Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus; erected in the Domus Memmii Vitrasii Orfiti by the corpus pistorum magnariorum et castrensariorum.

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 3, p. 218.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 651-652.

9. CIL, Vol. 6, 1740, a base with a dedication for a statue to Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus; erected in the Domus Memmii Vitrasii Orfiti by the corpus naviculariorum.

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 3, p. 218.

10. CIL, Vol. 6, 1741, a base with a dedication for a statue to Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus; erected in the Domus Memmii Vitrasii Orfiti by the corpus susceptorum Ostiensium sive Portuensium.

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 3, pp. 218-219.

11. CIL, Vol. 6, 1751, a large marble base with a dedication for a statue to Sex. Claudius Petronius Probus; erected in A.D. 378 at the Horti Aniciorum et Pinciorum by the Veneti and Histri.

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, pp. 390-391.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 736-740.

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12. CIL, Vol. 6, 1752, a marble base with a dedication for a statue to Sex. Claudius Petronius Probus; erected in the Horti Aniciorum et Pinciorum by his sons Anicius Probinus and Anicius Probus.

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, p. 391.

13. CIL, Vol. 6, 1754, base with a dedication for statue to Anicia Faltonia Proba; erected in the Horti Aniciorum et Pinciorum by her sons Anicius Probinus and Anicius Probus.

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, p. 391.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 732-733.

14. CIL, Vol. 6, 1755, base with dedication for a statue to Anicia Faltonia Proba; erected by her son Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius and his wife Anicia Iuliana in the Horti Aniciorum et Pinciorum.

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, pp. 391-392.

15. CIL, Vol. 6, 31904, fragment of a stone with a dedication for a statue to Betitius Perpetuus Arzygius; presumably erected in the Domus Betitii Perpetui Arzygii by the Tusci and Umbri.

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, p. 279.

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16. CIL, Vol. 6, 31961, a base with a Greek inscription for a statue to Betitius Perpetuus; erected by the Province of Sicily in the Domus Betitii Perpetui Arzygii.

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, p. 279.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 689.

17. CIL, Vol. 6, 32051, a base with a dedication for a statue to Vulcacius Rufinus; erected about A.D. 347 in the Domus Vulcaci Rufini by the people of Ravenna.

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, p. 295.

Helbig, Führer, Vol. 3, #2456.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 782-783.

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Part IV : Mosaics.

1. Mosaic with a braided border composition.

Van Essen, 1950 Verricht, pp. 113 and 117, dated first half of 4th century; Rome.

Helbig, Führer, Vol. 3, #2125, dated about A.D. 300; Rome.

Blake, Mosaics of the Late Empire, pp. 98-99, plate 19, 1, dated 3rd century.

2. Mosaic with quadriga.

Van Essen, 1950 Verricht, p. 93, dated "Constantinian," stylistically close to the triumphator from the Basilica of Iunius Bassus; Rome.

Helbig, Führer, Vol. 3, # 2151, dated on stylistic grounds to middle of 4th century.

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3. Mosaic portraits of Flavius Iulius Iulianus and Maria Simplicia Rustica.

Van Essen, 1950 Verricht, p. 111, dated 4th century, stylistically close to the busts on the ceiling of S. Constanza.

4. Head of Oceanus.

Van Essen, 1950 Verricht, p. 112, dated first half of 4th century.

Blake, Mosaics of the Second Century, p. 184, dated 2nd century.

5. Mosaics with heralds, found on the Palatine.

Van Essen, 1950 Verricht, p. 115, dated same time as the mosaics from the Baths of Caracalla, thus A.D. 335-345.

Blake, Mosaics of the Late Empire, pp. 96-97, plate 18, dated 3rd century.

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6. Gladitorial scenes from the peristyle excavated in the Tenuta di Torre Nuova.

Blake, Mosaics of the Late Empire, pp. 113-115, plate 30, 1-5; dated with admitted hesitation to A.D. 250-300.

Helbig, Führer, Vol. 2, # 1951: dated to first half of 4th century.

Van Essen, 1950 Verricht, p. 91; dated early 4th century.

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Part V : The Esquiline treasure of late Roman silver found in Rome in 1793.

1. Silver fibula.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #227: 4th to 5th century.

2. Silver fibula.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #228: 4th to 5th century.

3. Silver fibula.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #229: 4th to 5th century.

4. Silver fibula.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #230: 4th to 5th century.

5. Silver fibula.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #231: 4th to 5th century.

6. Silver pin in the form of a column, surmounted by a figure of Venus who is shown removing her sandal.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #232: 4th to 5th century.

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7. Silver pin in the form of a column, surmounted by a figure of Venus who is shown holding a mirror.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #233: 4th to 5th century.

8. Pin, with simple globular head.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #234: 4th to 5th century.

9. Ornament piece in the shape of a hand; the back of the hand inscribed "BYZAN," above an etching of a building (?); a very unusual piece.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #235: 4th to 5th century.

10. A pair of very elaborate earrings.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #236: 4th to 5th century.

11. A single earring of the same style.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #237: 4th to 5th century.

12. A Greek finger ring of the third century B.C., found with the Esquiline Treasure; re-used in 4th century.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #238.

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13. A charm, in the shape of a mouse.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #239: 4th to 5th century.

14. A charm in the shape of a panther.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #240: 4th to 5th century.

15. A charm in the shape of an arm.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #241: 4th to 5th century.

16. A ewer with facetted sides, inscribed: "PELEGRINA VTERE FELIX."

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #307: 4th to 5th century.

17. An undecorated amphora.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #308: 4th to 5th century.

18. An undecorated amphora.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #309: 4th to 5th century.

19. Fluted circular dish.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #310: 4th to 5th century.

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20. A flat circular dish with a raised rim; the medallion of a male figure decorates the center of the dish (perhaps the patron).

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #311: 4th to 5th century.

21. A flat circular dish; undecorated except for the garlanded monogram in the center; it reads "PROIECTA TURCI"; on the reverse, the weight of the set "SCVT. III. P.V." (this set of four weighs 5 pounds). The following three dishes complete the set.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #316: 4th to 5th century.

22. A flat circular dish; undecorated except for the garlanded monogram in the center; it reads "PROIECTA TURCI"; no weight mark.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #317: 4th to 5th century.

23. A flat circular dish; undecorated except for the garlanded monogram in the center; it reads "PROIECTA TURCI"; no weight mark.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #318: 4th to 5th century.

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24. A flat circular dish; undecorated except for the garlanded monogram in the center; it reads "PROIECTA TURCI"; no weight mark.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #319: 4th to 5th century.

25. A circular bowl on a low base.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #320: 4th to 5th century.

26. A circular bowl on a low base.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #321: 4th to 5th century.

27. An undecorated spoon, with the inscription "IVNONI LANVMVINAE S P S SVLP QVIRIN."

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #322; the author conjectures that this spoon formed part of the temple treasure of the Temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium; re-used in 4th century.

28. A spoon with a monogram in the bowl; it apparently reads "MA."

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #323: 4th to 5th century.

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29. A spoon with a monogram in the bowl; it apparently reads "MA."

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #324: 4th to 5th century.

30. A spoon, inscribed "MA."

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #325: 4th to 5th century.

31. Four spoons without inscriptions.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #326, 327, 328, 329: 4th to 5th century.

32. Spoon, with inscription "EYXE" (?).

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #330: 4th to 5th century.

33. Engraved handle of a knife with inscription "ΜΗ ΛΥΠΙ CΕΛΥΤΟΝ" (sic).

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #331: 4th to 5th century.

34. A furniture ornament in the shape of a right forearm holding a cylinder surmounded by a pomegranate.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #336: 4th to 5th century.

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35. A furniture ornament in the shape of a left forearm holding a cylinder surmounded by a pomegranate.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #337: 4th to 5th century.

36. Elaborate phalerae (horse-trappings).

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #338: 4th to 5th century.

37. Elaborate phalerae.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #339: 4th to 5th century.

38. Elaborate phalerae.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #340: 4th to 5th century.

39. Elaborate phalerae.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #341: 4th to 5th century.

40. Elaborate phalerae.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #342: 4th to 5th century.

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41. Elaborate phalerae.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #343: 4th to 5th century.

42. Embellished handles for a jug.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #344: 4th to 5th century.

43. Casket handles.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #345: 4th to 5th century.

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Part VI : Metalwork of various types and uses.

1. Bronze statuette of Herakles.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition,
203: provenance unassigned;
4th century.

2. Gilt bronze statuette.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition,
204: Rome; 4th to 5th century.

3. Bronze statuette of a warrior.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition,
201: provenance unassigned;
4th century.

4. Bronze statuette of St. Peter.

Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1
pt. 1, p. 88, Tavola 5: found
in Rome; 4th century.

5. Bronze medallion with portraits of two Apostles.

Buschhausen, Reliquiare Katalog,
A71, Tafel A90: provenance not
assigned; second half of 4th
century.

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6. Bronze finial.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #211: found near Rome, 4th century.

7. Bronze weight in the form of an enthroned emperor.

Ross, Catalogue, Vol. 1, #70, plate 42: Rome (?); 4th century.

8. Bronze plaque.

Ross, Catalogue, Vol. 1, #59, plate 37: Rome (?); second half of 4th century.

9. Bronze plaque erected to Flavius Teodorus, found at Minturno in Latium (lost in World War II).

Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 95-96: from Minturno; dated late 4th or early 5th century; erected by the people of Minturno.

10. Bronze lamp with a cross.

Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 93: Rome; 4th to 5th century.

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11. Bronze lamp in the shape of a dragon.

Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 93: Rome; dated as "post-Constantinian."

12. Gold fibula.

Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 887: found on the Palatine; dated "late empire."

13. Silver cup.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #361: provenance not assigned; 4th to 5th century.

14. Silver ewer with Christian symbols and portrait busts.

Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 700: Rome; 4th century.

15. Lead vase.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #235: provenance not assigned; 4th century.

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16. Silver flagon.

Beckwith, Chx Byz Art, p. 22, plate 41: found at Taprain Law; probably made in Rome; dated late 4th to early 5th century.

17. Silver show plate piece, representing Hercules strangling the lion; an outstanding creation.

Gusman, L'art decoratif, Vol. 3, plate 140: provenance not assigned (now in the Cabinet des medailles de Paris); dated 4th century.

18. The so-called casket of Damasus in Milan; an excellent work, but polemical.

Beckwith, Chx Byz Art, p. 21, plate 40: a gift of Pope Damasus to St. Ambrose; dated ca. A.D. 382.

Dalton, Byzantine Art, p. 563: provenance not assigned; 4th century.

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Part VII: Ivory and bone carvings.

1. The so-called casket of Pola; outstanding, but highly controversial.

   Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #120, Tafel 38: a local creation from Istria; first half of the 5th century.

   Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 204-210, esp. p. 210: Rome, 4th century (stylistically close to the casket of Projecta, and the sarcophagi of Rome).

   De Loos-Dietz, Ivoren, p. 154: provenance probably Northern Italy, dated ca. A.D. 387-395.

2. Six ivory roundels, with portraits of circus horses and drivers.

   Helbig, Führer, Vol. 1, #825: found in Rome; 4th century.

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3. The Brescia casket; an extraordinary creation, but highly controversial.

Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #107, Tafel 31: provenance not assigned; dated ca. A.D. 350 to 370.

Kollwitz, Die Lipsanothek von Brescia: from the West; dated ca. A.D. 350 to 375.

De Loos-Dietz, Ivoren, pp. 144-148, Figure 29: from the West; dated ca. A.D. 380 to 390.

Soper, "The Italo-Gallic School of Early Christian Art," AB 20 (1938), pp. 173-176: from Northern Italy; ca. A.D. 380.

4. Five panels from a casket.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #292, plate 7: perhaps from Rome; late 4th or early 5th century.

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Peirce, Art, Vol. 1, plate 104: perhaps of Greek origin; early 5th century.

Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #117, Tafel 38; from a Western workshop; dated ca. A.D. 420-430.

5. Pyxis of Christ enthroned among the twelve Apostles, the so-called Berlin pyxis.

Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #161, Tafel 53: provenance not assigned; dated 5th century, with the observation that the scene reflects the sarcophagi sculptures of the 4th century.

Peirce, Art, Vol. 1, plate 98: provenance not assigned; dated ca. A.D. 400 (?).

Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen, p. 161, Tafel 1: probably from Gaul; 5th century.

De Loos-Dietz, Ivoren, p. 77: probably from Gaul; 5th century.

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6. Bust of a child.

Morey, Catalogo; A17, Tavola 3: Rome, 3rd to 4th century.

7. Ivory relief of a nude boy.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #97, plate 12: provenance not assigned; 4th to 5th century.

8. Statuette of a seated child holding a hare.

Morey, Catalogo, A15, Tavola 3: Rome; 3rd to 4th century.

Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 196: Rome; 3rd century (?); the child's cap may reflect pagan influences, as it bears similarity to the Phrygian cap.

9. Plaque with figure of a woman.

Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #208, Tafel 34: found in Rome; 4th century; not known whether a Christian or pagan piece.

Morey, Catalogo, A56, Tavola 6: found in Rome, but from Egypt originally; 4th to 5th century.

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Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 197: Rome; 4th to 5th century.

10. Medallion with Christ.

Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #209, Tafel 59: Rome; 4th century.

Morey, Catalogo, A57, Tavola 6: Egypt, but found in the Catacombs of S. Callisto; 4th to 5th century.

Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 197: Rome, 4th to 5th century.

11. Medallion with an apostle.

Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #210, Tafel 59: Rome; 4th century.

12. An elaborate pyxis with Orpheus scene.

Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #91, Tafel 28: provenance not assigned; dated 4th century.

13. Fragment of a pyxis with a dancing scene.

Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #90, Tafel 28: provenance not assigned; dated 4th century; represents a pagan scene.

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Morey, Catalogo, A60, Tavola 7: from Egypt; dated 5th to 6th century; represents a bacchic scene.

Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 201: provenance uncertain; 4th century.

14. Small ship with three figures.

Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, #207 not shown: Rome; 4th century.

Morey, Catalogo, A18, Tavola 3: Rome, 3rd to 4th century.

Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 243: Rome; 4th century.

15. Small head of a woman.

Morey, Catalogo, A47, Tavola 5: Rome; 4th century.

16. Ivory disc with the portrait of a young girl; on reverse Chi-Rho symbol.

Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 202-203: from Latium perhaps (?); 4th - 5th century.

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17. Bone knife handle.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #153; provenance not assigned; 4th century.

18. Bone pendant with busts of Peter and Paul.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #98a; provenance not assigned; 4th century.

19. Bone relief with a winged child.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #96, plate 12: provenance not assigned; 4th century.

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Part VIII: Gems.

1. Eagle in lapis lazuli.

   Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #544, plate 67: "said to have been found near Naples"; 4th to 5th century.

   D. Miner and E. J. Edelstein, "A Carving in Lapis Lazuli," Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, 7-8 (1944-1945), pp. 82-103, figures 1-3: provenance unassigned; 4th century.

2. Fragment of a red-jasper cameo, in the shape of a Gorgon's head.

   Ross, Catalogue, Vol. 1, #112, plate 57: Rome (?); late 4th or early 5th century.

3. Bust medallion of a Caesar (?) in chalcedony; the so-called "Julian bust" in Paris.

   Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 227-228, Tafel 121: provenance not assigned; dated 4th to 5th century; rejects Julian's

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portraiture on the basis of the physiognomy and believes it was not made for official state purposes, because of the inscription; purpose of this medallion uncertain.

4. Small head of an emperor in chalcedony.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 228-229, Tafel 113, 2: provenance not assigned; 4th to 5th century; perhaps a posthumous portrait of Constantine the Great.

5. Sardonyx cameo of male bust in profile with helmut and shield.

Richter, Gems, #601: provenance not assigned; represents Crispus (?) son of Constantine the Great.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 134, Tafel 73, 2: provenance not assigned; represents Crispus, ca. 320 (?).

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6. Bloodstone intaglio with profile busts of an emperor and his wife, who wears a diadem.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #564, plate 78: provenance not assigned; represents possibly Constantine II and his wife.

Richter, Gems, #609: provenance not assigned; identification doubtful, but notes the diadem of the empress.

7. Cameo of Constantine II (?).

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 137, Tafel 73, 3: provenance not assigned; represents Constantine II (?) as a Caesar, about A.D. 320 (?).

8. Cameo with the bust of an emperor.

Richter, Gems, #602: provenance not assigned; represents Constans.

9. Sardonyx cameo with a male portrait bust.

Richter, Gems, #603: found in Via dello Statuto; represents Constans or Constantine II (?).

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Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 158, Tafel 73, 4: represents Constans (?), as a Caesar; dated about A.D. 335.

10. Sardonyx cameo of an emperor on horseback spearing two men.

Richter, Gems, #604: provenance not assigned; represents Constantine II (?).

11. Amethyst intaglio of an emperor wearing the diadem.

Richter, Gems, #606: provenance not assigned; represents Constantius II.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 153, Tafel 74, 3: provenance not assigned; represents Constantius II, about A.D. 360.

12. Amethyst intaglio of an emperor wearing the diadem.

Richter, Gems, #607: provenance not assigned; represents Constantius II.

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Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 154, Tafel 74, 5: provenance not assigned, but notes it was known in Rome since the 18th century; represents Constantius II, about A.D. 350 (?).

13. Sapphire gem with the bust of an emperor wearing the diadem.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 154, Tafel 74, 4: provenance not assigned; represents Constantius II, ca. A.D. 350 (?).

14. Sardonyx intaglio of an emperor in profile wearing the diadem.

Richter, Gems, #610: provenance not assigned; represents Julian the Apostate.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 159, Tafel 75, 2: from Italy; represents Julian, ca. A.D. 363.

15. Garnet intaglio, with a male portrait bust shown in profile.

Richter, Gems, #611: found at the Castel Trosino; perhaps representing Stilicho.

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16. Sapphire (?) intaglio with bust of an emperor.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #566, plate 78: provenance not assigned; dated 4th century.

17. Sardonyx intaglio of mounted warrior.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #567, plate 78: provenance not assigned; dated 4th century.

18. Sardonyx cameo of a female bust wearing an Attic helmet.

Richter, Gems, #111: provenance not assigned; represents "Roma-Minerva"; following Babelon, it is dated as "Constantinian."

19. Rock crystal plaque with Pan playing the flute.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #535, plate 73: provenance not assigned; 3rd to 4th century.

20. A pendant of rock-crystal, with a Chi-Rho symbol.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #1000: obtained in Rome; 4th century.

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Part IX : Glassware and Pottery.

1. Fragment from gilded glassware; medallion with the busts of Saints Peter and Paul being crowned by Christ.

   Roppo, Vetri, p. 15, figure 1: probably from Rome; middle of 4th century.

2. Fragment from gilded glassware; a medallion with the busts of a child and parents.

   Roppo, Vetri, p. 22, figure 3: probably from Rome; last quarter of 4th century.

3. Base of a gilded bowl; central medallion represents Christ crowning husband and wife; six standing figures encircle the medallion.

   Roppo, Vetri, p. 23, figure 4: probably from Rome; end of the 4th century.

4. Fragment from gilded glassware; a medallion with an orans.

   Roppo, Vetri, p. 26, figure 5: probably from Rome; ca. A.D. 375-400.

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5. Fragment from gilded glassware; medallion with garlanded inscription.

   Roppo, Vetri, p. 27, figure 6: probably from Rome; end of 4th century.

6. Fragment of gilded glassware; a medallion of Christ crowning a husband and wife.

   Roppo, Vetri, p. 31, figure 14: Rome; last quarter of 4th century.

7. Fragment of gilded glassware; medallion of the Good Shepherd.

   Roppo, Vetri, p. 33, figure 16: probably from Rome; ca. A.D. 325-250.

8. Fragment of gilded glassware; a medallion of the Good Shepherd.

   Roppo, Vetri, p. 34, figure 17: Rome; middle of 4th century.

9. Fragment of gilded glassware; a medallion of Noah in the ark.

   Roppo, Vetri, p. 35, figure 18: Rome; end of 4th century.

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10. Fragment from gilded glassware; medallion of Adam and Eve.

    Roppo, Vetri, p. 39, figure 22: Rome; third quarter of 4th century.

11. Fragment of gilded glassware; a medallion of Adam.

    Roppo, Vetri, p. 39, figure 23: Rome; ca. A.D. 325-250.

12. Fragment of gilded glassware; medallion of the sacrifice of Abraham.

    Roppo, Vetri, p. 40, figure 24: Rome; last quarter of 4th century.

13. Fragment of gilded glassware; medallion of St. Peter and the miracle of the rock.

    Roppo, Vetri, p. 42, figure 26: Rome; last quarter of 4th century.

14. Fragment of gilded glassware; medallion of Tobias.

    Roppo, Vetri, p. 42, figure 27: Rome; first half of the 4th century.

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15. Fragment of gilded glassware; medallion of Daniel.

Roppo, Vetri, p. 42, figure 28:
Rome; second quarter of 4th century.

16. Fragment of gilded glassware; medallion of Jonas.

Roppo, Vetri, p. 44, figure 29:
Rome; second quarter of 4th century.

17. Fragment of gilded glassware; medallion of an Orans standing amid flames.

Roppo, Vetri, p. 44, figure 30:
Rome; middle of 4th century.

18. Fragment of gilded glassware; a medallion of Christ.

Roppo, Vetri, p. 44, figure 31:
Rome; first half of 4th century.

19. Fragment of gilded glassware; a medallion of the miracle at Canaan.

Roppo, Vetri, p. 45, figure 32:
Rome; third quarter of 4th century.

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20. Fragment of gilded glassware; a medallion with the resurrection of Lazarus.

Roppo, Vetri, p. 46, figure 33:
Rome; middle of 4th century.

21. Fragment of gilded glassware; a medallion with the resurrection of Lazarus.

Roppo, Vetri, p. 47, figure 34:
Rome; last quarter of 4th century.

22. Fragment of gilded glassware; a medallion with the multiplication of the loaves; Christ with an apostle; a Chi-Rho symbol between them.

Roppo, Vetri, p. 48, figure 35:
Rome; last quarter of 4th century.

23. Fragment of gilded glassware; medallion with the recovery of the paralytic.

Roppo, Vetri, p. 49, figure 36:
Rome; second half of 4th century.

24. Fragment of gilded glassware; a medallion of Saints Sistus and Timothy being crowned by Christ.

Roppo, Vetri, p. 50, figure 37:
Rome; middle of 4th century.

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25. Fragment of gilded glassware; a medallion of S. Agnes.

Roppo, Vetri, p. 51, figure 38: Rome; second half of 4th century.

26. Fragment of gilded glassware; a medallion of Saints Peter and Paul.

Roppo, Vetri, p. 52, figure 39: Rome; middle of 4th century.

27. Fragment of gilded glassware; medallion of Saints Peter and Paul.

Roppo, Vetri, p. 52, figure 40: probably from Rome; end of 4th century.

28. Fragment of gilded glassware; a medallion of Saints Peter and Paul, being crowned by Christ.

Roppo, Vetri, p. 53, figure 41: Rome, end of 4th century.

29. Fragment of gilded glassware; medallion of the Virgin Mary as an Orans.

Roppo, Vetri, p. 54, figure 42: Rome; second quarter of 4th century.

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30. A glass vase.

Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 157: from the catacombs of Rome; 3rd to 4th century.

31. A glass "calix baptismalis."

Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 156: Rome; 3rd to 4th century.

32. Glass bowl with scenes of the Nile.

Cecchelli, La vita di Roma, Vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 149-150: Rome, 4th century.

33. Drinking cup of transparent glass.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #656: said to have been found in the Roman catacombs; 4th to 5th century.

34. Fragment of a glass cup, with three frontal portrait busts.

Ross, Catalogue, Vol. 1, #95, plate 55: Rome; late 4th century.

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35. Terra cotta bowl with a seated portrait of Christ and medallion busts of Constantine and Fausta (?); the so-called Constantine bowl in the British Museum.

Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities, #916, pp. 159-161, plate 33: said to have been bought in Rome; Dalton assigns it, however, to Egypt; dated by the inscription to 4th century; Dalton argues for a date before A.D. 329 since it portrays Fausta.

36. Terra cotta relief with the inscription "VIC-R," and scene of the Last Judgment.

Ross, Catalogue, Vol. 1, #91, plate 50: Rome; 4th century.

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Part X: Calligraphic inscriptions.

1. A marble slab with an epigram to honor S. Agnes; composed by Pope Damasus, and executed by his calligrapher Furius Dionysius Philocalus.

   Ferrua, Epigrammata Damasiana, pp. 175-178, plate 37, p. 177.
   Rome; 4th century.

2. Marble fragments with an epigram to honor Pope Eusebius; composed by Damasus and executed by Furius Dionysius Philocalus.

   Ferrua, Epigrammata Damasiana, pp. 129-133, plate 18, p. 130.
   Rome; 4th century.

3. Marble slab with epigram to honor Pope Cornelius; composed by Damasus and executed by Furius Dionysius Philocalus.

   Ferrua, Epigrammata Damasiana, pp. 136-138, plate 19, p. 137.

4. Marble slabs with epigram to honor Ss. Felicissimus and Agapitus; composed by Damasus and executed by Furius Dionysius Philocalus.

   Ferrua, Epigrammata Damasiana, pp. 152-156, plate 25, p. 155.

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5. Marble slab with epigram to honor Ss. Protus and Hyacinth; composed by Damasus and executed by Furius Dionysius Philocalus.

   Ferrua, Epigrammata Damasiana, pp. 190-194, plate 47, p. 191.

6. Marble slab with epigram to honor Ss. Nereus and Achilleus; composed by Damasus and executed by Furius Dionysius Philocalus.

   Ferrua, Epigrammata Damasiana, pp. 101-104, plate 8, p. 102.

7. Marble slab with epigram to honor the marytrs; composed by Damasus and executed by Furius Dionysius Philocalus.

   Ferrua, Epigrammata Damasiana, pp. 119-123, plate 16, p. 121.

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Part XI : Christian sarcophagi.

1. Frontal piece of a sarcophagus, with a portrait of a child.

   Repertorium der Sarkophage, #84, p. 70, Tafel 24: dated by inscription to A.D. 343; Rome.

2. Fragment from a cover.

   Repertorium der Sarkophage, #136, pp. 90-91, not shown: dated by the inscription to A.D. 345; Rome.

3. Two zone curry-comb sarcophagus; portrait in center.

   Repertorium der Sarkophage, #87, p. 72, Tafel 26: dated by inscription to A.D. 353; Rome.

4. Two fragments from a cover.

   Repertorium der Sarkophage, #308, p. 158, Tafel 60: dated by the inscription to A.D. 360; Rome.

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5. Fragmented frontal panel of a sarcophagus; right side exhibits inscription, and left side Christ and Apostles in high relief set against several types of arches.

   Repertorium der Sarkophage, #556, pp. 229-230, Tafel 85: ca. A.D. 366-400; Rome.

6. Sarcophagus of Simplicius and Didyma; over-all shell pattern; no portrait; undecorated cover.

   Repertorium der Sarkophage, #219, pp. 131-132, Tafel 49: dated through inscription to A.D. 375; Rome.

7. Fragment of a cover.

   Repertorium der Sarkophage, #310, p. 158, Tafel 60: dated by the inscription to A.D. 380-385; Rome.

8. Curry-comb fragmented sarcophagus, with portrait of two women; flat relief work.

   Repertorium der Sarkophage, #240, p. 139, Tafel 54: dated through inscription to A.D. 392, inscription written vertically on left corner; Rome.

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9. Fragment of a cover.

Repertorium der Sarkophage, #311, pp. 158-159, Tafel 61: dated by the inscription to A.D. 394-395; Rome.

10. Two zone sarcophagus with husband and wife shown in portrait; very high relief work.

Repertorium der Sarkophage, #188, pp. 116-119, Tafel 45: ca. A.D. 333-366; Rome.

11. Curry-comb sarcophagus, with middle niche for a standing woman; corners decorated with standing male figures (Peter and Paul ?); a cover.

Repertorium der Sarkophage, #682, pp. 283-284, Tafel 108: ca. A.D. 333-366; Rome.

12. Curry-comb sarcophagus, with portraits of husband and wife in center; shepherd scene below their portraits; shepherds on each end of sarcophagus front.

Repertorium der Sarkophage, #239, pp. 138-139, Tafel 53: ca. A.D. 333-366; Rome.

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13. Fragment of cover with manger scene; high relief.

Repertorium der Sarkophage, #907, pp. 376-377, Tafel 144: ca. A.D. 366-400; Rome.

14. Fragment from a cover, with inscription; four dolphins; on right corner two male figures standing.

Repertorium der Sarkophage, #140, p. 92, Tafel 32: ca. A.D. 366-400; Rome.

15. Fragment of a curry-comb sarcophagus, with three scenes of figures; central scene shows two standing male figures on each side of the deceased woman; the two other scenes of Good Shepherd variations; trees used to link all three scenes.

Repertorium der Sarkophage, #80, pp. 68-69, Tafel 24: middle of 4th century; Rome.

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16. Columnar sarcophagus; nine standing figures; central archway with two crouching figures beneath Chi-Rho garlanded symbol.

Repertorium der Sarkophage, #49, p. 48, Tafel 16: middle of 4th century; Rome.

17. City-Gate sarcophagus of outstanding craftsmanship. Christ healing the infirm; Christ entering Jerusalem on a donkey.

Repertorium der Sarkophage, #63, pp. 59-60, Tafel 20: last quarter of 4th century; Rome.

18. Curry-comb sarcophagus with single columns at the corners of frontal panel; central scene shows female figure standing between palm trees; cover exhibits blank inscription tablet, and eight whales.

Repertorium der Sarkophage, #683, p. 284, Tafel 108: last quarter of 4th century; Rome.

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19. Columnar sarcophagus, with curry-comb pattern; central scene depicts Christ as Good Shepherd standing under trees.

    Repertorium der Sarkophage, #829, p. 347, Tafel 133: last quarter of 4th century; Rome.

20. Columnar sarcophagus; ten standing figures; in the central archway Christ and two male figures; very high relief work.

    Repertorium der Sarkophage, #58, p. 56, Tafel 19: end of 4th century; Rome.

21. Columnar sarcophagus; six standing figures, and in the central archway Christ with two male figures; unusual arches.

    Repertorium der Sarkophage, #57, pp. 54-55, Tafel 18: end of 4th century; Rome.

22. Curry-comb sarcophagus, without a cover; simple cross in center of front panel.

    Repertorium der Sarkophage, #687, p. 285, Tafel 109: end of 4th or beginning of the 5th century; Rome.

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23. Frieze sarcophagus without a cover; front panel exhibiting ten standing male figures; carved in high relief.

Repertorium der Sarkophage, #755, p. 310, Tafel 119: end of 4th century; Rome.

24. Curry-comb sarcophagus without cover; simple cross in the center of front panel.

Repertorium der Sarkophage, #243, p. 141, Tafel 55: late 4th or early 5th century; Rome.

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Part XII: Paintings from the catacombs in Rome.

1. The deceased Vereranda, with St. Petronilla.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 213:
shortly after A.D. 356.

2. Lazarus; miracle of the fountain.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 181, 2:
ca. A.D. 348.

3. Christ between the Apostles.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 155, 2:
ca. A.D. 348.

4. Jonas scene, birds, ornamental figures.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 156:
first half of 4th century.

5. Genii with vines and birds, and Christ with Apostles.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 148:
first half of 4th century.

6. Decorative animal pictures.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 136, 1:
first half of 4th century.

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7. An *orant*.

Wilpert, *Katakomben*, Tafel 138:
first half of 4th century.

8. Good Shepherd, and Jonas scene.

Wilpert, *Katakomben*, Tafel 130:
first half of 4th century.

9. *Orantes*.

Wilpert, *Katakomben*, Tafel 174:
first half of 4th century.

10. *Orantes*.

Wilpert, *Katakomben*, Tafel 185:
middle of 4th century.

11. Good Shepherd and *orantes*.

Wilpert, *Katakomben*, Tafel 190:
middle of 4th century.

12. Virgin Mary with child.

Wilpert, *Katakomben*, Tafel 207:
middle of 4th century.

13. Cooper workshop with vats.

Wilpert, *Katakomben*, Tafel 202:
middle of 4th century.

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14. The Virgin Mary, with child.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 163, 1: middle of 4th century.

15. An orant.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 160, 1: middle of 4th century.

16. Orantes, and scene of the miracle of the spring.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 120, 2-3: middle of 4th century.

17. Good Shepherd and orantes.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 117, 2: middle of 4th century.

18. Seasons of the year.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 245, 1: second half of 4th century.

19. Moses scene and multiplication of fish and baskets.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 237: second half of 4th century.

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20. Two Genii supporting an inscription (now destroyed); the deceased in heavenly scene.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 218: second half of 4th century.

21. Orantes; ornamental figures; birds.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 217: second half of 4th century.

22. Manger scene; Daniel in the lions den; an orant.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 160, 2: second half of 4th century.

23. Casket work with Genii; heads and vases.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 149, 3: second half of 4th century.

24. Good Shepherd, Jonas scene, orantes, seasons of the year.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 100: second half of 4th century.

25. Christ between Peter and Paul.

Wilpert, Katakomben, Tafel 252: late 4th or early 5th century.

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Part XIII: Relief work and pilasters.

1. Ornamental pilaster.

   Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 1, Museo Chiaramonti, #149C, Tafel 42: provenance not assigned; dated as "a late work."

2. Fragment of decorative sculpture with a bearded mask, whose hair and beard are composed of acanthus leaves.

   Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 1, Museo Chiaramonti, #430, Tafel 62: provenance not assigned; dated as "a late work"; characterized as a "good" creation.

3. Fragment of relief work with a shepherd amid trees; a building in the distance.

   Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 1, Museo Chiaramonti, #127, Tafel 42: provenance not assigned; dated as "a late work"; purpose not specified but described as a decorative relief.

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4. Fragment of frieze work from a round building; high relief; Eroti amid trees.

   Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 1, Museo Chiaramonti, #98, Tafel 39: provenance not assigned; dated as "a late work"; purpose not specified.

5. Fragment of a relief with panthers and stags.

   Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 1, Museo Chiaramonti, #93, Tafel 38: provenance not assigned; dated as "a late work"; purpose not specified.

6. Fragment of relief work with a harvest scene.

   Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 1, Museo Chiaramonti, #7, Tafel 32: provenance not assigned; dated as "a late work"; purpose not specified.

7. Fragment of an ornamental relief with a medallion of a male figure in profile.

   Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 1, Museo Chiaramonti, #42, Tafel 36: provenance not assigned; dated

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as "a late work"; purpose not specified.

8. Fragment of relief work with quadratic designs.

   Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 1, Museo Chiaramonti, #41, Tafel 36: provenance not assigned; dated as "a late work"; purpose not specified.

9. Fragment of relief work with rosettes set within quadratic panels.

   Amelung, Sculpturen, Vol. 1, Museo Chiaramonti, #43, Tafel 36: provenance not assigned; dated as "a late work"; purpose not specified.

10. Fragment of a marble frieze with a panther, fruits, and a satyr mask.

    Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 1, Museo Chiaramonti, #88, Tafel 38: provenance not assigned; dated as "a late work"; purpose not specified.

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11. Fragment of marble wall paneling with a medallion bust of a male figure.

Amelung, Sculpturen, vol. 1, Museo Chiaramonti, #42, Tafel 36: provenance not assigned; dated as "a late work."

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Part XIV: Inscriptional evidence of statues from pagan temples re-used as public monuments.

1. CIL, Vol. 6, 1156b, a base with a dedication for a statue; re-located in the Basilica Iulia by Gabinius Vettius Probianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 377; probably a temple statue; re-use of a base originally supporting a statue of Constantine the Great.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 201-202.
   Jones, Prosopography, p. 734.
   La Branche, Public Architecture, p. 155.
   Platner, Dictionary, pp. 78-80.

2. CIL, Vol. 6, 1653, a base for a statue re-located in the Forum Romanum by Fabius Titianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 339-341; probably a temple statue.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 107-111.
   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 918-919.
   Platner, Dictionary, pp. 230-236.

3. CIL, Vol. 6, 1654, a plaque for a statue; re-located on the Caelian by Fabius Titianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 350-351; probably a temple statue.

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Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 107-111.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 918-919.

4. CIL, Vol. 6, 1655, a base for a statue; re-located by L. Turcius Apronianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 339; location uncertain; probably a temple statue.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 105-107.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 88.

5. CIL, Vol. 6, 1658a, a base with a dedication for a statue; re-located in the Basilica Iulia by Gabinius Vettius Probianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 377; probably a temple statue.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 201-202.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 734.

LaBranche, Public Architecture, p. 155.

6. CIL, Vol. 6, 1658b, a base with a dedication for a statue; re-located in the Basilica Iulia by Gabinius Vettius Probianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 377; probably a temple statue.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 201-202.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 734.

LaBranche, Public Architecture, p. 155.

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7. CIL, Vol. 6, 1658e, a base with a dedication for a statue; re-located in the Basilica Iulia by Gabinius Vettius Probianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae 377; probably a temple statue.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 201-202.
Jones, Prosopography, p. 734.
LaBranche, Public Architecture, p. 155.

8. CIL, Vol. 6, 3864a, a base with a dedication for a statue; re-located by Gabinius Vettius Probianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae 377; location uncertain, found near the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina; probably a temple statue.

Platner, Dictionary, pp. 13-14.
Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 201-202.
Jones, Prosopography, p. 734.

9. CIL, Vol. 6, 3864b, a base with a dedication for a statue; re-located by Gabinius Vettius Probianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae 377; location uncertain, found near the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina; probably a temple statue.

Platner, Dictionary, pp. 13-14.
Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 201-202.
Jones, Prosopography, p. 734.

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10. CIL, Vol. 6, 3864c, a fragment of a base with a dedication for a statue; re-located by Gabinius Vettius Probianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 377; location uncertain; found near the Temple Antoninus and Faustina; probably a temple statue.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 201-202.
Jones, Prosopography, p. 734.

11. CIL, Vol. 6, 31879, a base for a statue; re-located in the Forum Romanum by Fabius Titianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 339-341; probably a temple statue.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 107-111.
Jones, Prosopography, pp. 918-919.
Platner, Dictionary, pp. 230-236.

12. CIL, Vol. 6, 31880, a base for a statue; re-located in the Forum Romanum by Fabius Titianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 339-341; probably a temple statue.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 107-111.
Jones, Prosopography, pp. 918-919.
Platner, Dictionary, pp. 230-236.

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13. CIL, Vol. 6, 37107, a base for a statue; relocated in the Forum Romanum by Fabius Titianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 339-341; probably a temple statue.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 107-111.
Jones, Prosopography, pp. 918-919.
Platner, Dictionary, pp. 230-236.

14. CIL, Vol. 6, 37108, a base for a statue; relocated in the Forum Romanum by Fabius Titianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 339-341; probably a temple statue.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 107-111.
Jones, Prosopography, pp. 918-919.
Platner, Dictionary, pp. 230-236.

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Part XV: Inscriptional evidence of statues honoring pagan priests.

1. CIL, Vol. 6, 2151, a base with a dedication for a statue to Iunius Postumianus, v.c.; honored as a priest of Mithras; erected by the ordo sacerdotum; location uncertain.

   Jones, Prosopography, p. 719, date uncertain, 3rd or 4th century.

2. CIL, Vol. 6, 32433, a fragment of a tablet honoring a priest, perhaps Vettius Agorius Praetextatus.

   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 772-724.

3. CIL, Vol. 6, 2153, a tablet with the names of seven aristocrats who were pagan priests and philosophers; perhaps statues were also set up; the inscription reads:

   "Rufius Volusianus v.c. XV s.f.
   Rufius Festus v.c. XV s.f.
   Sebasmius Philosopus
   . . . . . Pontifex Maior
   Brittius Praesens v.c. P.M.
   Evagrius Philosopus
   Fl. Atticus v.c. "

   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 123, 284, 336, 721, 811, 976-978; date uncertain, assigned as ca. 320.

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Part XVI: Inscriptional evidence of statues erected to the emperors, or to the usurpers of imperial authority (arranged according to emperors).

Constantius II.

1. CIL, Vol. 6, 1158, a marble pedestal with a dedication for an equestrian statue to Constantius II; erected in the Comitium near the Arch of Septimius Severus by Naeratius Cerealis, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 352-353; a commemoration of the emperor's victory over Magnentius.

   Platner, Dictionary, p. 201.
   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 197-199.
   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 135-139.
   La Branche, Public Architecture, pp. 174-175.

2. CIL, Vol. 6, 1159, a base with a dedication for a statue to Constantius II; erected in the Baths of Decius by Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus Honorius, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 357-359; assisted by the curator statuarum Publilius Caelonius Julianus.

   Platner, Dictionary, pp. 526-527.
   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 139-147.
   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 651-653.

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3. CIL, Vol. 6, 1160, a fragment of a base with a dedication for a statue to Constantius II; erected in the Baths of Decius by Flavius Leontius, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 355-356.

   Platner, Dictionary, pp. 526-527.
   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 147-149.
   Jones, Prosopography, p. 503.

4. CIL, Vol. 6, 1161, a base with a dedication for a statue to Constantius II; erected in the Forum Romanum by Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus Honororius, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 357-359.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 139-147.
   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 651-653.

5. CIL, Vol. 6, 1162, a base with a dedication for a statue to Constantius II; erected in the Forum Romanum by Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus Honorius, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 357-359.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 139-147.
   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 651-653.

6. CIL, Vol. 6, 31395, a base with a dedication for a statue to Constantius II; erected in the Forum Romanum by Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus Honorius, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 357-359.

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Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 139-147.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 651-653.

7. CIL, Vol. 6, 31397, a base with a dedication for a statue to Constantius II; erected in the Forum Romanum by Flavius Leontius, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 355-356.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 147-149.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 503.

8. CIL, Vol. 6, 31399, a base with a dedication for a statue to Constantius II; location uncertain; found on the Via della Polveriera.

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The Usurper Magnentius

1. CIL, Vol. 6, 1166a, a base for a statue to Magnentius; erected in the Baths of Titus (?) by Fabius Titianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 350-351.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 107-111.
   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 918-919.

2. CIL, Vol. 6, 1167, a base for a statue to Magnentius; erected in Baths of Decius by Fabius Titianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 350-351.

   Platner, Dictionary, pp. 526-527.
   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 107-111.
   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 918-919.

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Julian

1. CIL, Vol. 6, 1168, a base with a dedication for a statue to Julian as a Caesar; erected in Forum Romanum by Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 357-359.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 139-147.

   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 651-653.

2. CIL, Vol. 6, 31401, a fragment from a base with a dedication for a statue to Julian; erected by Valerius Maximus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 361-362; location uncertain.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 154-156.

   Jones, Prosopography, p. 582.

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Valens

1. CIL, Vol. 6, 1172, a base with a dedication for a statue to Victoria, and the emperor Valens; erected in the Baths of Caracalla by Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 365.

   Platner, Dictionary, p. 521.
   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 164-169.
   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 978-980.

2. CIL, Vol. 6, 1174, a base with a dedication for a statue to Valens; erected in the Forum Romanum by Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 365.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 164-169.
   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 978-980.

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Valentinian I.

1. CIL, Vol. 6, 1171, a base with a dedication for a statue to Victoria and the emperor Valentinian I; erected in the Baths of Caracalla by Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 365.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 164-169.
   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 978-980.
   Platner, Dictionary, p. 521.

2. CIL, Vol. 6, 1173a, a base with a dedication for a statue to Valentinian I; erected in the Baths of Caracalla by Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 365.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 164-169.
   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 978-980.
   Platner, Dictionary, p. 521.

3-5. CIL, Vol. 6, 36955, three bases with dedications for three statues to Valentinian I; erected in the Forum Romanum, by Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 365.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 164-169.
   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 978-980.

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Valentinian II.

1. CIL, Vol. 6, 3791a, a base with a dedication for a statue to Valentinian II; erected in the Forum Romanum by Ceionius Rufius Albinus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 389-391.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 233-236.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 37-38.

Platner, Dictionary, pp. 230-236.

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Valentinian and Valens Together

1. CIL, Vol. 6, 794, a base with a dedication for a statue to Victoria and the emperors Valentinian I and Valens; erected in the Baths of Caracalla by Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 365.

   Platner, Dictionary, p. 521.
   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 164-169.
   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 978-980.

2. CIL, Vol. 6, 1170, a base with a dedication for a statue to Valentinian I and Valens; erected in the Baths of Caracalla by Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 365.

   Platner, Dictionary, p. 521.
   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 164-169.
   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 978-980.

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Theodosius I.

1. CIL, Vol. 6, 1185, a base with a dedication for a statue to Theodosius I; erected in the Colosseum by Faltonius Probus Alypius, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 391.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 236-237.

   Jones, Prosopography, p. 49.

2. CIL, Vol. 6, 1186, a fragment of a base with a dedication for a statue to Theodosius I; erected in the Forum of Trajan by Sex. Aurelius Victor, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 389.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 232-233.

   Jones, Prosopography, p. 960.

   Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 6, p. 68.

3. CIL, Vol. 6, 36959, a base with a dedication for a statue to Theodosius I; erected in the Forum Romanum by Ceionius Rufius Albinus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 389-391.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 233-236.

   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 37-38.

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Arcadius

1. CIL, Vol. 6, 3791b, a base with a dedication for a statue to Arcadius; erected in the Forum Romanum by Ceionius Rufius Albinus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 389-391.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 233-236.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 37-38.

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Part XVII: Inscriptional evidence of statues erected as public monuments to private citizens.

1. CIL, Vol. 6, 1679, a marble plaque with a dedication for a statue to Anicius Auchenius Bassus; the dedication is incomplete but enumerates his political honors; it was set up in the Forum of Trajan; dates after 382.

   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 152-154.
   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 211-216.
   Platner, Dictionary, pp. 237-245.

2. CIL, Vol. 6, 1700, a base with a dedication for a statue to M. Aurelius Consius Quartus the Younger; erected by the cities of Ancona and Fanum; location uncertain; dated 325-350.

   Jones, Prosopography, p. 757.

3. CIL, Vol. 6, 1702, a base with a dedication for a statue to Betitius Perpetuus Arzygius; erected by the Tusci and Umbri in the Forum of Trajan; dates after 366.

   Jones, Prosopography, p. 689.
   Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 6, p. 67.

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4. CIL, Vol. 6, 1709, a base with a dedication for a statue to Cethegus; erected by his son, Furius Maecius Gracchus; location uncertain.

   Jones, Prosopography, p. 400.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 198-200.

5. CIL, Vol. 6, 1713, marble fragment with a dedication for a statue to Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius; erected by his brother Faltonius Probus Alypius; location uncertain; found near the Theater of Marcellus.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 178-184.

   Jones, Prosopography, p. 49.

6. CIL, Vol. 6, 1714, a base with a dedication for a statue to Tyrannia Anicia Iuliana, wife of Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius (consul in 379); erected by H. Clodius Rufus; location uncertain; dated about 379.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, p. 179.

   Jones, Prosopography, p. 468.

7. CIL, Vol. 6, 1722, a base with a dedication for a statue to Fl. Honoratianus; erected by the Province of Numidia; location uncertain.

   Jones, Prosopography, p. 438, dated as 4th century.

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8. CIL, Vol. 6, 1729, a base with a dedication for a statue to Flavius Sallustius; erected on May 29, 364 in the Forum of Trajan by the provinces of Spain.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 797-798.
Platner, Dictionary, pp. 239-240.
Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 6, p. 66.

9. CIL, Vol. 6, 1736, a base with a dedication for a gilded statue to Iulius Festus Hymetius; erected by the Province of Africa in the Forum of Trajan; dates either 376 or 378.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 447.
Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 6, pp. 67-68.

10. CIL, Vol. 6, 1745, a base with a dedication for a statue to Naeratius Cerealis; erected in the Baths of Naeratius Cerealis by Cursius Satrius; dated after 351.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 135-139.
Jones, Prosopography, pp. 197-199.
Platner, Dictionary, p. 70.

11. CIL, Vol. 6, 1746, a base with a dedication for a statue to Naeratius Scopius; erected in the Baths of Naeratius Cerealis by Cursius Satrius.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 135-139.

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Jones, Prosopography, p. 810, and pp. 197-199, dated middle or late 4th century.

Platner, Dictionary, p. 70.

12. CIL, Vol. 6, 1748, a base with a dedication for a statue to M. Nummius Albinus Triturrius; erected by his son, Nummius Secundus; location uncertain; dates about 345.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 37.

13. CIL, Vol. 6, 1759, a base with a dedication for a statue to Ragonius Vincentius Celsus; erected on the insula Tiberina on August 25, 389 by the mensores of Portus.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 195-196.

14. CIL, Vol. 6, 1768, a base with a dedication for a bronze statue to L. Turcius Apronianus Asterius; erected by the ordo of Spoletium; location uncertain.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 156-159.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 88-89.

15. CIL, Vol. 6, 1769, a base with a dedication for a bronze statue to L. Turcius Apronianus Asterius; erected by the city of Luca; location uncertain.

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Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 156-159.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 88-89.

16. CIL, Vol. 6, 1772, a base with a dedication for a bronze statue to L. Turcius Secundus; erected by the ordo of Amiternum in the Forum of Trajan.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 817-818.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 105-107.

17. CIL, Vol. 6, 1773, a base for a statue to Aemilia Paterna Eunomia; erected by her husband L. Turcius Secundus in the Forum of Trajan.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 297, dated middle or late 4th century.

18. CIL, Vol. 6, 31975, a base with a dedication for a statue to Faltonius Probus Alypius; location uncertain, found in the piazza Carolli.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 236-237.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 49.

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Part I. Large-scale sculptures in marble or bronze.

1. Marble head of Constans (?); almost life-size; diadem with pearl strains; place reserved in the front of the diadem for an inset jewel.

   Dellbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 154-155, Tafeln 58-59: provenance uncertain; assigned as a definite product of the Eastern Roman empire; dated ca. 340.

2. Bronze head of Gratian.

   Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 252: provenance not assigned; found in Philippi (Macedonia); dated ca. 380.

3. Marble bust of Aelia Flaccilla.

   Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 202, Tafeln 99-101: provenance not assigned; dated ca. 380.

4. Marble torso of a toga statue; perhaps a praefectus urbi.

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Kollwitz, Oströmische Plastik, #5: attributed to Constantinople; dated as late 4th century (?).

Mendel, Catalogue, #1112: found in Constantinople; dated 5th century; unclear whether it is a statue of an emperor or a high public official.

5. Marble torso of a toga statue; toga and scepter perhaps indicate a consul.

Kollwitz, Oströmische Plastik, #4: found in Constantinople; dated late 4th or early 5th century.

6. Marble statue of a male with the chlamys; found at Aphrodisias.

Kollwitz, Oströmische Plastik, #2: provenance not assigned; found at Aphrodisias; perhaps produced there, yet similarities with statues in Constantinople; dated late 4th or early 5th century. Compare also #3 also found at Aphrodisias.

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Mendel, Catalogue, #508: found at Aphrodisias; provenance unclear; dated late 4th or early 5th century; see #507.

L'Orange, Porträts, #107, Tafel 202; provenance probably Aphrodisias; early 5th century; see #108, Tafel 203.

7. Marble statue of an empress; now in Paris.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, p. 163; Tafel 63: provenance not assigned; considered a product of the Eastern Roman empire; regarded as a statue of Helena, with admission that many think it should be Aelia Flaccilla, first wife of Theodosius I.

Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art, pp. 405-406: considers it as a product of Cyprus; maintains it portrays Aelia Flaccilla.

8. Statuette of an emperor; fragment of a group; the emperor wears military garb and holds a sword in his left hand.

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Mendel, Catalogue, #653: assigned to Constantinople; dated 4th or 5th century.

9. Six fragmentary toga statues of private citizens found in Ephesus.

Kollwitz, Oströmische Plastik, #6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11: provenance uncertain; all six dated late 4th century.

10. Marble head of Arcadius; found near the Forum Tauri; portrays him as a youth.

Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art, p. 44, and p. 360, figure 182: attributed to Constantinople; dated ca. 395-400; considers it a masterpiece.

11. Marble statue of an emperor.

Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art, p. 354, figure 117: attributed to Constantinople; considered to be Constantine or Constantius II.

Mendel, Catalogue, #1107: attributed to Constantinople; considered to be a first century work.

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12. Statuette of Orpheus.

Mendel, Catalogue, #651: assigned to Constantinople; dated 4th or 5th century.

13. Marble statuette of a Good Shepherd; fragment shows Good Shepherd holding lamb across his shoulders.

Mendel, Catalogue, #650: origin not clear; dated 4th century; now in the Archaeological Museum at Constantinople; compare also #648, 649, and 689.

14. Portrait bust of an evangelist (?); figure shown holding a book which bears a cross, probably indicating an evangelist; three others also exist in fragmentary state.

Mendel, Catalogue, #661: assigned to Constantinople; date uncertain perhaps early 5th century; compare #662, 663, 664 for the other three.

Peirce, Art, vol. 1, plate 87: attributed to Constantinople; dated late 4th century.

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15. A statue for an orator (?); torso of a male statue wearing an himation.

Kollwitz, Oströmische Plastik, #12: found in Ephesos; provenance not certain; dated late 4th century.

16. Limestone relief with scene of Maiestas Domini; Christ seated, holding in left hand a book; St. Peter standing to the right side, holding in his left hand a cross. Unfinished sculpture.

Mendel, Catalogue, #668: found in Constantinople; date uncertain, perhaps 5th or even 6th century.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #59: found in Constantinople; dated 4th to 6th century.

17. Fragment of a relief with a horse rider.

Mendel, Catalogue, #677: assigned to Constantinople; dated 4th or 5th century.

18. Marble relief with a barbarian chieftain (?) kneeling in submission.

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Mendel, Catalogue, #695: found in Constantinople; date uncertain, perhaps 5th or even 6th century (with ?).

Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art, p. 63: found in Constantinople; dated early 4th century.

19. Large marble frieze with animal scenes.

Grabar, Sculptures, plate 22, 4; p. 130: found in the vicinity of the Forum Tauri; dated late 4th century.

20. Marble relief with a scene of Christ entering Jerusalem.

Mendel, Catalogue, #669: assigned to Constantinople; dated probably 5th century.

21. Marble relief with acanthus design; outstanding piece.

Mendel, Catalogue, #1409: provenance uncertain; dated as "a product of the Roman period."

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22. Pagan votive stele to a river god.

Mendel, Catalogue, #866: provenance uncertain; dated as "a product of the Roman empire."

23. Pagan votive stele to Tyche.

Mendel, Catalogue, #861: provenance uncertain; dated as "a product of the Roman empire."

24. Pagan votive stele to the Dioscuri.

Mendel, Catalogue, #865: provenance uncertain; dated as "a product of the Roman empire."

25. Colossal marble eagle inscribed "IOYΛIANOC," probably indicating the emperor Julian.

Mendel, Catalogue, #657: found apparently in Syria; dated on the basis of the inscription to A.D. 360-363.

26. Three ornate marble columns; excellent pieces.

Mambourg, Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel, Tafel 39: found in Constantinople now

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located in the "Seepalast";
dated "late Roman."

Mendel, Catalogue, #1179: found in Constantinople; dated 3rd century (?).

27. Marble capital; acanthus leaves.

Mamboury, Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel, Tafel 117: attributed to Constantinople; dated as "before Theodosius I"; now located at the Jere - Batan - Zisterne.

28. Marble capital.

Mamboury, Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel, Tafel 117: attributed to Constantinople; dated as "Constantinian"; now located in the Jere - Batan - Zisterne.

29. Large marble capital with the heads of horses; high-relief work; outstanding.

Mamboury, Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel, Tafel 113: found at the southern end of

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the Hippodrome; date uncertain; perhaps 5th century or earlier.

30. Large capital from the Golden Gate.

Kautzsch, Kapitellstudien, #155, Tafel 11, p. 45: attributed to Constantinople; dated Theodosian.

31. Large capital from the triumphal arch of Theodosius I.

Kautzsch, Kapitellstudien, #154, Tafel 11, p. 40: attributed to Constantinople; dated Theodosian.

32. Large sculptured capital; figures of angels.

Grabar, Sculptures, plate 19, 4-5; p. 129: found in Constantinople; dated ca. 400.

33. Large marble architrave.

Mendel, Catalogue, #1194; provenance uncertain; apparently from Constantinople; dated 4th or 5th century.

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34. Marble Ionic capital.

Mendel, Catalogue, #1198: found in Constantinople; dated 4th or 5th century.

35. Sculptured marble drum with a scene of the baptism of Christ.

Mendel, Catalogue, #659: assigned to Constantinople; dated 5th century; apparently made by the same sculptor as #658.

36. Sculptured drum from a column (?); high-relief; a standing figure of a hunter among a tangle of vines; various animals perched in the vines; an unusual work.

Mendel, Catalogue, #658: assigned to Constantinople; dated 5th century with observation that 4th century prototypes exist outside of Constantinople.

37. Column in the Seraglio Gardens; inscribed: "Fortunae reduci ob devictos Gothos."

Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art, p. 424: found in Constantinople; of

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uncertain date, perhaps Claudius Gothicus, Constantine I, or Theodosius I.

38. Large marble relief of Christ healing a blind man; purpose unclear; perhaps a liturgical decoration; one of the finest sculptures of the period.

E. Kitzinger, "A marble relief of the Theodosian period," DOP 16 (1962), pp. 17-42, plates 1, 4, 13, 14: attributed to Constantinople; dated ca. 390.

39. Large circular marble medallion with the head of a Medusa; an unusual composition.

Mendel, Catalogue, #145: attributed to Constantinople; dated 4th century.

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Part II. Porphyry sculptures.

1. Porphyry vase.

Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, p. 209, Tafel 99: probably from Constantinople; dated 4th century (with ?); now in Amalfi.

2. Porphyry head of a man in a Phrygian cap; perhaps from a sarcophagus.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #13: cited as "Byzantine"; dated early 4th century (with ?).

3. Porphyry vase.

Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, p. 208, Tafel 99: provenance thought to be the Eastern Roman Empire; dated 4th century (with ?); now in Pisa.

4. Colossal porphyry bust of a man.

Mendel, Catalogue, #652: found in Adrianople; provenance not certain; dated 4th century.

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5. Porphyry obelisk.

Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, p. 145, Abbildung 60: found in Constantinople; dated 4th century (with ?).

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Part III. Metalwork of various types and uses.

1. Silver amphora from Concesti; scenes of a battle of the Amazons; an excellent work; now in the Hermitage.

   Strong, Gold and Silver Plate, p. 192, plate 57: provenance uncertain; assigned as a work of the Eastern Roman empire; dated as late imperial.

2. The so-called Diana plate in Berlin.

   Ross, Catalogue, vol. 1, p. 3, no plate: provenance uncertain; due to its similarity with the Dumbarton Oaks Amazon dish it probably originated in Constantinople; dated as probably 5th century.

3. The so-called Corbridge Lanx; silver votive offering with a scene of Apollo, Artemis, Athena, Leto, Asteria, Zeus.

   O. Brendel, "The Corbridge Lanx," JRS 31 (1941) pp. 100-127: probably from the Eastern Roman

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empire; perhaps Asia Minor; dated to the reign of Julian the Apostate, or shortly thereafter.

4. Silver oval box; worked in repoussé; eroti supporting garlands.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #363: "said to have been found in Syria"; provenance not assigned; dated 4th century.

5. Bronze fibula.

Walters Art Gallery, Exhibition, #345: "said to have been found in Thrace"; provenance assigned as the Eastern Roman Empire; dated ca. 350.

6. Bronze plaque with a hunting scene; two mounted horsemen, and a figure with a spear; lions and other animals; excellent piece.

Peirce, Art, vol. 1, plate 67: provenance not certain; possibly Constantinople (?); dated ca. 400; located in Paris.

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7. Bronze sculpture of a bird.

Banck, Byzantine Art in U.S.S.R., plate 22: provenance not assigned; now in the Hermitage; dated 4th or 5th century.

8. Bronze hanging lamp with Chi-Rho.

Banck, Byzantine Art in U.S.S.R., plate 18: provenance not assigned; now in the Hermitage; dated 4th century; compare also plate 19, 20, and 21 all dated 4th century.

9. Gold disk from a wedding ring; busts of the couple; cross inserted between their portraits.

Ross, Catalogue, vol. 2, #51, plate 39: Constantinople; dated late 4th or early 5th century.

10. Gold ring.

Ross, Catalogue, vol. 2, #49, plate 39: Constantinople (with ?); dated 4th or 5th century.

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11. Gold disk from a wedding ring.

Ross, Catalogue, vol. 2, #52, plate 39: "said to have been found in Constantinople"; dated late 4th or early 5th century.

12. Gold fibula with head of a lion.

Peirce, Art, vol. 1, plate 89b: provenance not assigned; dated late 4th century; now located in Budapest.

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Part IV. Gems, glassware, and pottery.

1. The so-called Julian cameo in Berlin; the emperor being crowned by Constantinopolis as a sign of victory.

Bruns, Winckelmannsprogramm 104 (1948) p. 22, Abbildung 17-18: provenance not certain; perhaps Constantinople; dated ca. 361.

2. The so-called Belgrade cameo; an emperor on a horse with a lance in his right hand; vanquished enemies along the lower edge; fragment; outstanding work.

Bruns, Winckelmannsprogramm 104 (1948) p. 19, Abbildung 14: provenance not clear; probably Constantinople since it involves an imperial portrait; not certain which emperor portrayed; dated second half of the 4th century.

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3. The so-called Trier cameo; three figures plus two small boys; perhaps Theodosius, Aelia Flaccilla; Arcadius, and Honorius; and Constantinopolis (?); two large eagles in foreground.

Bruns, Winckelmannsprogramm 104 (1948) p. 30, Abbildung 26: provenance not certain; probably Constantinople; dated ca. 386 since Honorius seems to be the focus of the cameo and he received the consulship in 386.

4. Amethyst intaglio of an emperor in profile wearing the diadem.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 153-154; Tafel 74,2: provenance not certain; probably from the Eastern Roman empire; perhaps Antioch (?); represents Constantius II; dated ca. 360.

Richter, Gems, #605: provenance not assigned; represents Constantius II.

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5. Rock crystal intaglio of a male bust in profile with the chlamys.

Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 158-159; Tafel 75,1: provenance uncertain; probably from the Eastern Roman empire, perhaps Antioch (?); dated after 350.

Richter, Gems, #608: provenance not assigned; represents Constantius Gallus.

6. Chalcedony bust of the emperor Julian; the ruler wears a military cloak fastened with a fibula; originally Julian wore a diadem, as indicated by groove on the head of the sculpture.

Banck, Byzantine Art in U.S.S.R., plate 6-7: provenance not assigned; now in the Hermitage; dated 4th century with the observation that the piece bears strong resemblance to glyptic piece in Paris; see also Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 228-229 (cited in Catalogue for Rome).

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7. Cameo of Mars and Venus.

   Peirce, Art, vol. 1, plate 9: provenance not assigned; dated early 4th century; now located in Köln.

8. Gold glass bowl with medallions of the four sons of Constantine the Great; the so-called gold glass bowl of Köln.

   Neuburg, Ancient Glass, plate 90, pp. 92-93, and note 111: attributed to Constantinople because of its striking similarity to the bowl in Venice (Neuburg plate 89); dated ca. 346.

   Delbrueck, Kaiserporträts, pp. 132-134, Tafel 45, Abbildung 36: found in Köln; probably produced there; dated first half of the 4th century; scenes probably present the four sons of Constantine.

9. Glass bowl with mythological scenes; dark red; four large medallions used for the scenes; now in the Treasury of St. Mark's, Venice.

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Neuburg, Ancient Glass, plate 89, pp. 92-93: attributed to Constantinople; dated as probably mid-4th century; see pp. 92-93 for references for other glass pieces in Venice that seem to have come from Constantinople.

10. Fragment of a clay vessel with circus scenes.

Banck, Byzantine Art in U.S.S.R., plate 23: reported as found in the Chersonese; dated 4th or 5th century.

11. Terracotta eagle; unfinished; some suggest it served as a sculptor's model.

Ross, Catalogue, vol. 1, #93, plate 51: assigned to Constantinople; dated as early Byzantine.

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Part V. Sarcophagi and funerary steles.

1. Marble sarcophagus; inscribed; commissioned for Alexander, son of Dion; somewhat similar to the imperial sarcophagi.

   Firatli, Les stèles funéraires de Byzance: #198, p. 118, plate 56: found in Constantinople; date uncertain; 3rd century (?) probably re-used in the 4th century; compare also #200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206 for other sarcophagi that undoubtedly had been re-used by Christians.

2. Fragment from a sarcophagus; four standing figures; low-relief work.

   Grabar, Sculptures, plate 16,3; p. 129: provenance uncertain, probably Constantinople; dated ca. 400.

3. Facade of a columnar sarcophagus; Christ with the Apostles; Greek inscription.

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Grabar, Sculptures, plate 9,1; p. 127: found in Constantinople; dated ca. 400; compare plate 9,2; p. 127 for a very similar piece also considered ca. 400.

4. Fragment of a stele; inscription in Greek; commissioned for the family of Lucius Caesonius.

Firatli, Les stèles funéraires de Byzance: #106, p. 85, plate 26: found in Constantinople; date uncertain; dated as "imperial."

5. Funerary stele; inscription in Greek; commissioned for Zotichos.

Firatli, Les stèles funéraires de Byzance, #102, pp. 83-84, plate 27: found at Bakırköy, near Constantinople; date uncertain; dated as "imperial."

6. Funerary stele; scene from the Old Testament.

Grabar, Sculptures, plate 10,2; p. 127: attributed to Constantinople; dated ca. 400.

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7. Funerary stele (?); portrays a scene from the Old Testament.

Grabar, Sculptures, plate 10,1; p. 127: attributed to Constantinople; dated ca. 400.

8. Facade of a small funerary edifice; inscribed; shows a large snake.

Mendel, Catalogue, #1322: assigned to Constantinople; dated 4th or 5th century.

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Part VI. Imperial medallions.

1. Gold medallion of the emperor Constantius; mint mark Constantinople.

   Gnecchi, Medaglioni, vol. 1, p. 30, #11, plate 11,4: Constantinople; Constantius.

2. Gold medallion of the emperor Constantius; mint mark Constantinople

   Gnecchi, Medaglioni, vol. 1, p. 30, #13, no plate: Constantinople; Constantius.

3. Gold medallion of the emperor Constantius; mint mark Constantinople.

   Gnecchi, Medaglioni, vol. 1, p. 30, #14, no plate: Constantinople; Constantius.

4. Gold medallion of the emperor Constantius; mint mark Constantinople.

   Gnecchi, Medaglioni, vol. 1, p. 30, #17, no plate: Constantinople; Constantius.

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5. Gold medallion of the emperor Jovian; mint mark Constantinople.

Gnecchi, Medaglioni, vol. 1, p. 34, #1, no plate: Constantinople; Jovian.

6. Gold medallion of Valentinian II; mint mark Constantinople.

Gnecchi, Medaglioni, vol. 1, p. 38, #2, no plate: Constantinople; Valentinian II.

7. Gold medallion of the emperor Valentinian II; mint mark Constantinople.

Gnecchi, Medaglioni, vol. 1, p. 38, #5, no plate: Constantinople; Valentinian II.

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INDEX I

Some fourth century houses in Rome, known from the archaeological finds or from the literary sources.

1. Domus Ceionii Iuliani Kamenii:

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, pp. 279-280.
Platner, Dictionary, p. 155.
Chastagnol, Les Fastes, p. 87.
Jones, Prosopography, p. 476.

2. Domus Ampelii:

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, pp. 276-277.
Platner, Dictionary, p. 155.
Chastagnol, Les Fastes, p. 188.
Jones, Prosopography, pp. 56-57.
Jordan, Topographie, Vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 405.

3. Domus Iunii Bassi:

Platner, Dictionary, p. 80.
Chastagnol, Les Fastes, p. 151.
Jones, Prosopography, pp. 154-155.
Jordan, Topographie, Vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 337.

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4. Domus Betitii Perpetui Arzygii:

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, p. 279.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 689.

Jordan, Topographie, Vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 442.

5. Domus Caecinae Decii:

Platner, Dictionary, p. 174.

Jones, Prosopography, "Caecina Decius Albinus Iunior," pp. 35-36.

Jordan, Topographie, Vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 165.

Merlin, L'Aventin, pp. 319, and 359-360.

6. Domus Caelii Saturnini:

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, pp. 386-387.

Platner, Dictionary, p. 174.

Jones, Prosopography, "C. Caelius Saturninus signo Dogmatius," p. 806.

Jordan, Topographie, Vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 459.

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7. Domus Naeratii Cerealis:

Platner, Dictionary, p. 70.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, p. 138.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 197-199.

Jordan, Topographie, Vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 337.

8. Domus Elpidii:

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 3, p. 106.

Platner, Dictionary, p. 179.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 416.

Jordan, Topographie, Vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 252.

9. Domus Equitii:

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 3, p. 217.

Platner, Dictionary, p. 179.

10. Domus G... Ar... T... Cermaniani:

Platner, Dictionary, p. 181.

11. Domus Iohannis et Pauli:

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 3, p. 106.

Platner, Dictionary, p. 182.

Lanciani, Ruins, pp. 348-349.

Castagnoli, Topografia, pp. 112, 114.

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12. Domus Lampadii:

Platner, Dictionary, p. 183.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, p. 167 (cf. p. 166 on the house at Ostia).

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, p. 285.

13. Domus Laterani (the official papal residence after A.D. 313).

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, pp. 106-107.

Platner, Dictionary, pp. 183-184.

Lanciani, Ruins, pp. 339-344.

Jordan, Topographie, Vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 243.

14. Domus Lolliani Mavortii:

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, p. 116.

Jones, Prosopography, "Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus signo Mavortius," pp. 512-514.

Merlin, L'Aventin, p. 358.

15. Domus Marcellae:

Platner, Dictionary, p. 184.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 542-543.

Merlin, L'Aventin, p. 320.

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16. Domus Memmii Vitrasii Orfiti:

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 3, pp. 218-219.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 139-140.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 651-653.

Merlin, L'Aventin, pp. 354-356.

17. Domus Nummiorum:

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, pp. 287-288.

Platner, Dictionary, p. 186.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, p. 39.

Jones, Prosopography, "Nummius Secundus," p. 814.

Jordan, Topographie, Vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 428.

18. Domus Palmatii:

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 3, p.309.

Platner, Dictionary, p. 187.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 662.

19. Domus Q. Aurelii Symmachi:

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 3, pp. 111-112.

Platner, Dictionary, p. 191.

Lanciani, Ruins, pp. 346-348.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, p. 220, cf. p. 162.

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Jones, Prosopography, pp. 865-870, with references for his other houses in Rome.

Jordan, Topographie, Vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 240.

20. Domus Turciorum:

Platner, Dictionary, p. 196.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, p. 107.

Jones, Prosopography, "Proiecta," p. 750 and her husband "Turcius Secundus," p. 817.

Jordan, Topographie, Vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 564.

21. Domus Valeriorum:

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 3, pp. 113-116.

Platner, Dictionary, p. 196.

Lanciani, Ruins, pp. 345-346.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, p. 210.

Jones, Prosopography, "Valerius Severus," p. 837; and his son "Valerius Pinianus," husband of Melania the Younger, p. 702.

Jordan, Topographie, Vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 240.

Castagnoli, Topografia, p. 114.

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22. Domus Vettii Praetextati et Fabiae Paulinae uxoris:

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, p. 108.

Platner, Dictionary, pp. 197-198.

Lanciani, Ruins, p. 405 and p. 230.

Lanciani, Ancient Rome, p. 169.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, p. 172.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 722-724.

Jordan, Topographie, Vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 368.

Merlin, L'Aventin, p. 357.

23. Domus Vulcaci Rufini:

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, p. 295.

Platner, Dictionary, p. 197.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 782-783.

Jordan, Topographie, Vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 442.

24. Horti Aniciorum et Pinciorum:

Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 4, pp. 390-393.

Platner, Dictionary, p. 187.

Jones, Prosopography, "Sex. Claudius Petronius Probus," pp. 736-740, and his wife "Anicia Faltonia Proba," pp. 732-733.

Jordan, Topographie, Vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 446-447.

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INDEX II

The construction and embellishment of the Christian churches at Rome by the emperors and the nobles 337-395 (the churches arranged alphabetically).

1. Foundation of S. Agnes fuori le Mura by Constantina (?), daughter of Constantine, ca. 337-349.

   Pope Liberius decorated the tomb of St. Agnes, 352-366.

   Pope Damasus erected an epigram to honor St. Agnes, 366-384.

   The Mausoleum of Constantina (?) built nearby (S. Constanza); date uncertain, perhaps ca. 340-350; possibly erected by Constantine or his sons, or the husband of Constantina, Gallus Caesar. Mosaics originally decorated the dome and the surrounding barrel-vault; today only the latter are preserved; dated mid-fourth century (?); drawings made of the dome mosaics; the mosaics in the apsidal recesses in the colonnade also preserved; dated considerably later, ca. 375-400; these are explicitly Christian.

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Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 14-38.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 2, pp. 1063-1070.

2. Foundation of S. Anastasia by Pope Damasus, 366-384.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 42-61.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 1, pp. 651-653.

3. Foundation of S. Ciriaco in Thermis by one of the Christian emperors of the 4th or 5th century (?).

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 114-116.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 2, pp. 1016-1017.

4. Foundation of S. Clemente ca. 390; perhaps an aristocratic project (?).

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 117-136: he prefers to date it ca. 390.

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Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 1, pp. 164-171.

5. Foundation of S. Crisogono; date uncertain; early fourth century.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 144-164: dated soon after 310.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 2, pp. 847-849.

6. Foundation of S. Croce in Gerusalemme by Constantine (?) or his sons (?); construction continued until the late fourth century.

Chapel of Helena completed; mosaics added in late fourth century.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 166-195.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 2, pp. 981-989.

7. Foundation of S. Ermete by Pope Damasus, 366-384.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 196-209.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 2, pp. 1054-1056.

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8. Foundation of S. Giovanni e Paolo in the late fourth century (?); the erection of a basilica in the early fifth century.

Pope Damasus erected an epigram, 366-384.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 1, pt. 4, pp. 267-303.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 1, pp. 617-627.

9. Foundation of the Lateran basilica by Constantine and completed by his sons (?).

Foundation of the Baptistery of the Lateran by Constantine and his sons (?).

A porticus added at the Baptistery in the late fourth century; it contained the chapel of Ss. Rufinus and Secundus; two apse mosaics there; one preserved: a giant acanthus plant; dated late fourth century.

P. Lauer, Le palais de Lateran (Paris 1911).

Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, pp. 25-26.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 1, pp. 121-136.

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10. Foundation of the basilica of Liberius by Pope Liberius, 352-366; it burned ca. 366. (Traditionally this church has been identified with S. Maria Maggiore. Professor Krautheimer has argued that this is incorrect: the basilica of Liberius probably stood on a different site, closer to the Market of Livia, and may exist under or near S. Vito in Macello. It is now widely accepted that S. Maria Maggiore involved a new construction of the fifth century, probably initiated and completed by Pope Sixtus III, 432-440. The mosaics of the church, while reflecting different styles, probably all date to the era of Pope Sixtus.)

Some of the mosaics of the basilica of Liberius known from an inscription: they presented a series of martyrs bringing gifts to the child Jesus and his mother; beneath the feet of the martyrs were symbols of suffering.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 1-60.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 1, pp. 281-294.

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11. Foundation of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura by Constantine (?) or his sons (?).

Pope Damasus erected an inscription at the altar of St. Lawrence, 366-384.

The presbyter Leopardus decorated the apse with mosaics (?) or paintings (?), ca. 400.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 1-144.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 2, pp. 1075-1086.

12. Foundation of S. Lorenzo in Damaso by Pope Damasus, 366-384.

Attica, wife of Felix Magnus, erected a chapel there in the late fourth century.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 145-151.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 1, pp. 457-463.

13. Embellishment of S. Marcellino e Pietro by Pope Damasus, 366-384 (the church owes its foundation to Constantine); epigrams by Damasus set up.

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Donation of vast properties by a Christian emperor, probably after 336.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 191-204.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 1, pp. 276-277.

14. The foundation of S. Marcello al corso; date uncertain, between 380-450.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 205-215: the dating cannot be narrowed any more closely than 380-450.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 1, pp. 315-317.

15. Foundation of S. Marco by Pope Mark in 336, and completed by his successor Pope Julius (?), 337-352.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 216-247.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 1, pp. 559-563.

16. Foundation of S. Maria in Trastevere by Pope Julius, 337-352.

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Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 65-71.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 2, pp. 783-796.

17. Foundation of S. Paolo fuori le Mura by Constantine.

A new and more magnificent church was erected by Theodosius I, Valentinian II, and Arcadius; it was begun in 386; and dedicated before completion on Nov. 18, 391; it was probably finished ca. 400. The emperors directed the Prefect of the City to supervise the project.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 2, pp. 1151-1162.

Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, pp. 63-64.

18. Foundation of St. Peter's by Constantine ca. 320, and completed by the end of the century; the mosaics in the semi-dome contained an inscription which stated that both father and son founded the church; Constantius (?).

The mosaics in the apse; and others added after Constantine's death by his son; facade of

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the church decorated with mosaics; presented the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse; date uncertain, probably ca. 350.

Mausolea erected at the basilica:

(1) The mausoleum of the Probi.

(2) The Mausoleum for the family of the emperor Theodosius II.

Pope Damasus erected a baptismal chapel, 366-384; an inscription erected at its entrance; Prudentius described the mosaics.

J. M. Toynbee and J. Ward Perkins, The Shrine of St. Peter (New York 1956).

Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, pp. 32-36.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 2, pp. 859-913.

19. Foundation of S. Pietro in Vincoli; date uncertain; late fourth century.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 3, 178-231: between 380-420; it apparently collapsed ca. 430 and was rebuilt ca. 450.

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Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 1, pp. 260-263.

20. Transformation of a thermae into the basilica of S. Pudenziana, ca. 390; completed ca. 401; carried out by the three presbyters Ilicius, Leopardus, and Maximus; the three may have constituted a papal committee; perhaps such a committee had been organized by Pope Siricius, 384-399.

The presbyter Ilicius built a porticus connecting the church with the Memoria of S. Hippolytus; dated late fourth century.

Apse mosaic in the church considered late fourth century.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 277-302.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 1, pp. 240-245.

21. Embellishment of S. Sebastian by the sons of Constantine (the church probably owes its foundation to Constantine); precinct wall added 337-350 (?).

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Mausolea constructed at the church by fourth century aristocrats:

(1) The Mausoleum of the Uranii in 349.

(2) The "Platonia" built by Pope Damasus 366-384 as a burial site for the leading members of the Christian community.

(3) Mausoleum #44, dated mid-fourth century.

(4) Mausoleum #45, dated mid-fourth century.

(5) Mausolea #42, 48, and 49, probably fourth century.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 4, pp. 99-147.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 2, pp. 1112-1128.

22. Foundation of S. Valentino by Pope Julius, 337-352.

Pope Damasus erected an inscription(s), 366-384.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 4, pp. 289-312.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 2, pp. 1044-1049.

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INDEX III

Projects carried out by the Roman aristocracy for the pagan temples, 337-395.

Part I: Inscriptional evidence for the dedication of altars and cult statues for the pagan deities.

1. CIL, Vol. 6, 124, a base with a dedication for a statue to Diana; erected by Auxentius (who also restored one of her shrines).

   Jones, Prosopography, p. 124, date uncertain; probably after 384.

2. CIL, Vol. 6, 462, a tablet with a dedication to the god Liber; erected by L. Turcius Apronianus Asterius; probably included a cult statue; ca. 350.

   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 88-89.

3. CIL, Vol. 6, 498, an altar with a dedication to Magna Mater and Attis (? inscription incomplete); erected February 27, 350 by Antoninus; probably included a cult statue; he received the taurobolium.

   Jones, Prosopography, p. 74.

4. CIL, Vol. 6, 499, an altar with a dedication to Magna Mater and Attis; erected July 19, 374 by Claudius Hermogenianus Caesarius "v.c. Proconsul Africae Praefectus Urbis Romae"; probably included a cult statue; he received the taurobolium and criobolium.

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Jones, Prosopography, pp. 171-172.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, p. 192.

5. CIL, Vol. 6, 500, two altars with identical dedications to Magna Mater and Attis; erected on May 13, 377 by Caelius Hilarianus "v.c. duodecimbyr urbis Romae, pater sacrorum et hieroceryx invicti Mithrae, sacerdos dei Liberi, sacerdos deae Hecatae"; probably involved cult statues.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 433.

Vermaseren, Corpus, p. 204, #513.

6. CIL, Vol. 6, 501, an altar with a dedication to Magna Mater and Attis; erected by Q. Clodius Flavianus, "v.c. pont. maior xv s. f. septem vir epulonum pontifex dei Solis"; probably included a cult statue; dated April 5, 383; he received the taurobolium and criobolium.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 344.

Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, Shrine of St. Peter's, p. 6, note 13; p. 18.

7. CIL, Vol. 6, 502, an altar with a dedication to Magna Mater and Attis (? inscription incomplete) dated 383; the unnamed pagan priest who set up the altar received the taurobolium and

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criobolium; a cult statue was probably dedicated along with the altar.

8. CIL, Vol. 6, 503, an altar with a dedication to Magna Mater and Attis; erected 390 by Lucius Ragonius Venustus; probably included a cult statue; he received the taurobolium and criobolium.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 948.

9. CIL, Vol. 6, 504, a base with a dedication for a statue to Magna Mater and Attis; erected August 13, 376 by Ulpius Egnatius Faventinus, "v.c. augur publicus populi Romani Quiritium, pater et hieroceryx dei Solis invicti Mithrae archibucolus dei Liberi, hierofanta Hecatae, sacerdos Isidis"; he received the taurobolium and criobolium.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 325.
Vermaseren, Corpus, pp. 204-205, #514.
Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, Shrine of St. Peter's, p. 6 and note 13, p. 18.

10. CIL, Vol. 6, 509, an altar with a dedication to Magna Mater and Attis; erected June 16, 370 by Petronius Apollodorus and his wife Rufia Volusiana; both received the taurobolium and

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the criobolium; a cult statue, probably included in the dedication; inscription in both Greek and Latin.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 84.

Vermaseren, Corpus, p. 208, #524.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 164-169.

11. CIL, Vol. 6, 510, an altar with a dedication to Magna Mater and Attis; erected in 376, by Sextilius Agesilaus Aedesius; probably included a cult statue; he received the taurobolium and criobolium.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 15.

Vermaseren, Corpus, p. 207, #520.

12. CIL, Vol. 6, 511, an altar with a dedication to Magna Mater and Attis; erected March 12, 377 by Rufius Caeionius Sabinus; probably included a cult statue; he received the taurobolium.

Jones', Prosopography, p. 793.

Vermaseren, Corpus, pp. 207-208, #522.

13. CIL, Vol. 6, 512, an altar with a dedication to Magna Mater and Attis; erected by Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, son of C. Ceionius Rufius Volvsianus Lampadius; dated May 23, 390; probably included a cult statue; he received the taurobolium a second time.

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Jones, Prosopography, p. 976, and 978-980.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 164-169.

14. CIL, Vol. 6, 513, a base with a dedication for a statue to Magna Mater; erected by Virius Marcarianus; statue and base preserved in the Museo Neapolitano.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 542, dated 3rd or 4th century.

15. CIL, Vol. 6, 537, a marble tablet with a dedication to the Etruscan goddess Nortia; erected by Postumius Rufius Festus Avienius from the Etrurian city of Volsinii; probably included a cult statue; dated middle or late 4th century.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 336-337 set up along with his son Placidus.

16. CIL, Vol. 6, 733, an altar with a dedication to Mithras; erected by Fl. Septimius Zosimus in the cave he constructed.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 994, dated 3rd to 4th century.

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17. CIL, Vol. 6, 749, an altar with a dedication to Mithras; erected by Nonius Victor Olympius and his son Aurelius Victor Augentius; probably involved a cult statue; dated 357.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 125.

Vermaseren, Corpus, pp. 171-172, #400, and compare his entries #401-406 from the same location.

18. CIL, Vol. 6, 846, a base with a dedication for a statue to Mithras (?); erected by C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus; dated ca. mid 4th century.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 978-980.

Vermaseren, Corpus, p. 191, #466.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 164-169.

19. CIL, Vol. 6, 30893, a tablet (?) with a dedication to Hercules; erected by P. Egnatius ... s; 4th (?) century.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 1002.

20. CIL, Vol. 6, 30895, a base with a dedication for a statue to Hercules; erected by Q. Flavius Egnatius Lollianus; ca. 350.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 512-514.

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21. CIL, Vol. 6, 30966, an altar with a dedication to Attis and Rhea; erected 377 by Sabina, daughter of C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus Lampadius; probably included a cult statue; inscription in Greek and Latin.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 788.

22. CIL, Vol. 6, 31118, a dedication for Magna Mater and Attis (?); purpose of this inscription unclear; lists three individuals, two of whom are pagan priests: "Turcius Secundus Asterius, v.c. xv vir s.f.; Pontius Atticus v.c.; Sextilius Aedesius v.c. p. p. hierof. Hecatar"; dated 376.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 15-16; p. 123; pp. 817-818. Compare pp. 474-475 for the altar set up by Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius to Mater Magna and Attis and found below St. Peter's.

Part II: Inscriptional evidence for major restorations to the ancient temples.

1. CIL, Vol. 6, 45, an altar with a dedication to Apollo and a commemoration of a restoration of the Temple of Apollo by Memmius Vitrasius

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Orfitus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, in 357-359; identified with the Temple of Apollo in the Campus Martius; architectural sculptures excavated there; a marble pavement exhibits restoration work.

Platner, Dictionary, pp. 15-16.

Nash, Dictionary, Vol. 1, pp. 28-30.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, p. 144.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 651-653.

LaBranche, Public Architecture, pp. 223-224.

2. CIL, Vol. 6, 102, an architrave with a commemoration of the restoration of the Porticus Deorum Consentium by Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, in 367-368; architectural sculptures have been excavated at the site.

Platner, Dictionary, pp. 421-422.

Nash, Dictionary, Vol. 2, pp. 241-243.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 722-724.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 171-178.

LaBranche, Public Architecture, pp. 212-213.

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3. CIL, Vol. 6, 2158, a commemoration for the restoration of the Mansiones Saliorum Palatinorum; carried out by Plotius Acilius Lucillus and Vitrasius Praetextatus, pro-magistri of the pontifices Vestae.

   Platner, Dictionary, p. 326: dated "in or after 382 A.D."; considered to be shrines for the Salii.

   Lugli, Fontes, Vol. 6, p. 35.

   Jones, Prosopography, p. 518 and p. 724: dated late third or fourth century.

   LaBranche, Public Architecture, pp. 186-187.

4. CIL, Vol. 6, 937, an architrave with a commemoration for the restoration of the Temple of Saturn by the Senate; dated fourth century; architectural sculptures have been excavated at the site.

   Platner, Dictionary, pp. 463-465.

   Nash, Dictionary, vol. 2, pp. 294-298.

   LaBranche, Public Architecture, p. 231.

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Part III: Projects without inscriptional evidence which nonetheless may be safely attributed to the aristocrats.

1. Construction of the Temple of Juppiter Heliopolitanus; an aristocratic project (?); dates perhaps to the reign of Julian, 361-363; many religious sculptures and architectural decorations have been unearthed, and now housed in the Museo Nazionale Romano.

   Platner, Dictionary, pp. 294-296: especially p. 295 where he assigns the project to the period of Julian.

   Nash, Dictionary, vol. 1, pp. 525-529.

   LaBranche, Public Architecture, pp. 228-229, especially p. 22, note 5 where she suggests aristocratic sponsorship.

2. Restoration of the Porticus Boni Eventus by Claudius Hermogenianus Caesarius, Praefectus Urbi Romae, in 374; recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus 29 · 6 · 19; architectural sculptures have been excavated.

   Platner, Dictionary, pp. 420-421.

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Jones, Prosopography, pp. 171-172.

LaBranche, Public Architecture, p. 212.

3. Restoration of the Temple of Flora by a certain Symmachus; probably dates late fourth century.

Lugli, Fontes, vol. 8, p. 324, where the literary source is provided; dated late fourth or early fifth century.

Platner, Dictionary, pp. 209-210: dated fourth century.

LaBranche, Public Architecture, pp. 225-226.

4. Restoration of altars and temples by Justus.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 490, where the literary source is cited; dated late fourth century; editors suggest he was a senator.

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INDEX IV

The construction or restoration of non-religious public buildings and monuments by the Roman aristocracy, 337-395.

Part I. Construction projects clearly documented by inscriptional evidence.

1. CIL, vol. 6, 1179, a tablet commemorating the restoration of a naumachia (?) by Fl. Antigonus v.p. pp.

   Jones, Prosopography, p. 70, dated 367-375.

   Platner, Dictionary, p. 357 (?).

2. CIL, Vol. 6, 1678, a base with a statue dedication to Acilius Glabrio Sibidius Spedius erected by his son; the dedication refers to the former as a builder of a forum: "fori huiusce inventori et conditori primo;" date uncertain, late fourth or early fifth century; known only from this statue base.

   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 838-839.

   Helbig, Führer, vol. 1, #355, dated ca. 400.

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3. CIL, vol. 6, 1774, a tablet with a commemoration for the construction of a public stable by Valerius Anthidius, Vicarius Urbis Romae, Praefectus Praetorio; dated 379-383; Fl. Asterius, deputatus, supervised the project.

   Jones, Prosopography, p. 70 and p. 119: the stable was constructed for the cursus publicus; found nine miles outside the city on the Via Cassia.

4. CIL, vol. 6, 3866 = 31963, a marble tablet with a commemoration for the construction of a reservoir for the Aqua Claudia by C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus Lampadius, Praefectus Urbi Romae, in 365; excavations at the site also establish restoration work in the fourth century.

   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 978-980.

   Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 164-169.

   La Branche, Public Architecture, pp. 140-141.

5. CIL, vol. 6, 31916, five bases with identical statue dedications; erected by Naeratius Cerealis who constructed public baths near his

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family mansion; the dedications refer to him as "conditor balnearum" and "consul"; dated 358; architectural sculptures excavated at the site.

Lugli, Fontes, vol. 3, pp. 295-296.

Platner, Dictionary, p. 70, where another inscription of the same project is mentioned: CIL, vol. 6, 1744.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 197-199.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 135-139.

Part II. Restoration projects clearly documented by inscriptional evidence.

1. CIL, vol. 6, 1184a, an architrave with a commemoration for a project carried out by L. Valerius Septimius Bassus, Praefectus Urbi Romae in 379; perhaps a restoration project (?); the inscription contains a dedication to Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 158.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 207-208, especially p. 208, note 63, where

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he cites in addition a fragment of another inscription, CIL, vol. 6, 37132.

2. CIL, vol. 6, 1657, a plaque with a commemoration for a restoration project by Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius, Praefectus Urbi Romae in 369-370.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 640-642.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 178-184.

3. CIL, vol. 6, 1658a - e, statue bases with dedications which refer to restoration work in the Basilica Julia by Gabinius Vettius Probianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae, 377.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 734: he apparently carried out other restoration projects in the Forum Iulium.

4. CIL, vol. 6, 1718, a commemoration for the restoration of the Secretarium Senatus in the fifth century; it contains a reference to an earlier restoration by a certain Flavianus who generally is identified as Nicomachus Flavianus, Praefectus Urbi Romae in 392 or 394; statues may possibly have been erected.

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Platner, Dictionary, pp. 145-146.

Jones, Prosopography, pp. 345-347.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, p. 242, note 224.

LaBranche, Public Architecture, p. 221.

5. CIL, vol. 6, 1728a - b, and CIL, vol. 6, 31912, three marble tablets commemorating the restoration of three separate nymphaea by Flavius Philippus, Praefectus Urbi Romae in 391; the project may have involved the erection of statues; the ruins have been located.

Lugli, Fontes, vol. 3, p. 296.

Platner, Dictionary, p. 365.

Jones, Prosopography, p. 697.

Chastagnol, Les Fastes, pp. 238-239.

LaBranche, Public Architecture, pp. 188-189.

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INDEX V

Fourth century halls whose purpose remains unclear; insufficient evidence to determine whether they served as public or private structures; probably erected by aristocrats in each instance.

1. Construction of a secular (?) basilica by Junius Bassus; the dedicatory inscription CIL, vol. 6, 1737 records that "Iunius Bassus v.c. consul ordinarius propria impensa a solo fecit et dedicavit feliciter;" dated 331 (?); not known whether it served as a public or private structure; some of the mosaics have been preserved.

   Lugli, Fontes, vol. 3, p. 290.

   Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 62-63.

   Nash, Dictionary, vol. 1, pp. 190-195.

   Platner, Dictionary, pp. 80-81.

   Jones, Prosopography, pp. 154-155.

2. Construction of a secular (?) building with an apse and lateral niches (the building later transformed into S. Balbina); dated ca. 370; not known whether it served as a public or private structure.

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Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 82-91.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 2, pp. 724-726.

3. Construction of a secular (?) apsed hall; dated mid-fourth century; marble incrustations found in the nave and apse also dated mid-fourth century; the rotunda in front of the building dates to the first half of the fourth century; (the building later transformed into the church of Ss. Cosma e Damiano); not known whether it served as a public or private structure.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 137-143.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 1, pp. 196-199.

4. Construction of a secular (?) apsed hall; a single nave without aisles; dated on the basis of its structural technique to the mid-fourth century (the building later transformed into Ss. Quattro Coronati); not known whether it served as a public or private structure.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 4, pp. 1-36: Professor Krautheimer has some

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hesitation about its secular purpose; not enough evidence to argue either way.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 1, pp. 605-609.

5. Construction of a secular (?) apsed hall; the opus listatum indicates a late fourth or early fifth century date (the building later transformed into S. Saba); not known whether it served as a public or private structure.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 4, pp. 51-71.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 2, pp. 722-724.

6. Construction of a secular (?) hall; (the building later transformed into S. Sabina); opus sectile pavement seems to indicate a fourth century date; not known whether it served as a public or private structure.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 4, pp. 72-98.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 2, pp. 709-715.

7. Construction of a secular (?) building with a nave flanked by aisles and galleries; a semicircular apse; dated fourth century (the building

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later transformed into S. Susanna); not known whether it served as a public or private structure.

Krautheimer, Corpus, vol. 4, pp. 254-278: despite its unusual design, Professor Krautheimer regards it as a secular building.

Armellini, Le chiese di Roma, vol. 1, pp. 329-332.

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